

THE HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF MORAY.

Comprising the Counties of Elgin and Nairn, the greater part of the County of Inverness, and a portion of the County of Banff,—all called the Province of Moray before there was a division into Counties.

BY LACHLAN SHAW.

NEW EDITION.—IN THREE VOLUMES.

Enlarged and brought down to the Present Time

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HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF MORAY.

PART III.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MORAY.

ALTHOUGH this Country is in a climate considerably Northern, being in the 12th Climate, and from about 57 degrees to 57—40 North latitude, the longest day being about 17 hours 46 minutes, and the shortest 6 hours 14 minutes; yet no Country in Europe can boast of a more pure, temperate, and wholesome Air. No part of it is either too hot and sultry in Summer, nor too sharp and cold in Winter: and it is generally (and I think justly) observed, that in the plains of Moray they have 40 days of fair weather in the year, more than in any other country in Scotland. The wholesomeness of the Air appears in the long lives of its inhabitants. In the year 1747, William Catanach in Pluscardine died at the age of 119 years; in the 1755, Sir Patrick Grant of Dalvey died 100 years old; in 1756,

Thomas Fraser of Gortuleg in Stratherick, died aged 97. And generally 80 years are reckoned no great age to the sober and temperate.

'Tis observed in this, as in all Northern Countries, that, in the beginning of the year, the Daylight increases with remarkable celerity, and decreases in a like proportion, at the approach of winter, which is owing to the inclination of the Earth towards the Poles. And in the Winter nights, the Aurora Borealis (from its desultory motion, called *Merry-dancers* and *Streamers*) affords no small light. Whether this proceeds from nitrous vapours in the lower region of the air, or from a reflection of the rays of the sun, I shall not enquire. It is certain that the *Ignis Fatuus* or *Ignis Lambens* that shineth in the night is owing to a thick and hazy atmosphere, and a clammy and unctuous dew; for in riding, the horse's mane, and the hair of the rider's head or wig, shine, and by gently rubbing them, the light disappears, and an oily vapour is found on the hand.

The Cold in this Country is never found too sharp and severe. In the winters of 1739 and 1740, the frost was not by much so strong in Moray, as it was at Edinburgh and London, and during the continuance of it the water-mills at Elgin were kept going. The warm exhalations and vapours from the sea dissolve the icy particles in the air, and the dry sandy soil doth not

soon freeze, or retain these particles : and if, among the mountains, the Cold is more intense, it is an advantage to the inhabitants ; for, by contracting the pores of the body, the vital heat is kept from dissipating, and is repelled towards the inner parts, keeping a necessary warmth in the whole body.

The Heat is pretty strong in Moray ; for in summer, the Sun's absence under the horizon is so short, that neither the atmosphere, or heated soil has little time to cool. And often, the heat is greater in the glens and valleys, than in the champaign ground, for the rays of the Sun are pent in and confined, and reverberated from the rocks.

Rains in this Country are seldom hurtful, or occasion inundations. Usually we have the Lambmass Flood in the beginning of August, and sometimes a Michaelmas storm ; but the Soil is generally so sandy and dry, that Drought is more hurtful than Rain.

Snow seldom lieth a long time, even in the glens and valleys ; and when it continueth, the benefit of it is considerable, especially if it is attended with Frost ; for it mellows and manures the ground, and renders it more fertile, impregnating it with nitre and other principles of vegetation, which improve both corn and grass.

The winds that prevail here, are the South-west, the North and North-east. From January

to June they generally blow between North-west and North-east, and from June to November between South-west and North-west. In winter they are more various and inconstant. By these periodical changes, the barley seed-time in April and May is cool, and the Harvest is fair and dry. Hurricanes are seldom known in this Country.

The Mountains and Deserts in the Highlands of Moray, are incomparably more extensive than the arable ground. A chain of the Grampian Mountains runneth on the South side of Spey, and another chain, though lower than the former, stretcheth on the North side, from the mouth to the head of the river. And the straths of the other rivers, Erne, Nairn, Ness, and Farar, are, in like manner, enclosed by ranges of hills. Although, to the taste of some travellers, these may seem to disfigure the Country; to others, their diversifying figures form the most agreeable landskip. And certainly, the benefit of these Mountains is very great; they collect and dissolve the clouds into rain, and from the reservoirs in their bowels, form the rivers and brooks that water the valleys and plains. The Mountain-water being impregnated by the earth, through which it is filtrated, has a vegetable power, which appears in the fertility of the grounds at the foot of Mountains. Their surface affords rich and wholesome pasture, necessary for the inhabitants, whose property consists mainly in cattle. Let

me add, that these Mountains, as natural fences inclosing the valleys, make a fresh stream of air fan them, and drive away all noxious vapours: and hence the inhabitants are so sound, vigorous and wholesome, as to know few diseases, except such as are contracted by intemperance, or communicated from other countries.

In distant ages, and in times of tumults and war, much of the corn land was on the tops and sides of the lower hills. The ridges and furrows, are as yet discernible in many places, and the great heaps of stone gathered out of the corn-fields still remain. Their safety from the incursions of enemies, made them choose these high places to dwell in; and at that time, the valleys were all covered with woods, and haunted by wolves; and by burning the woods many glens and valleys are become swamps, marshes, and mosses, by the water stagnating in them. When more peaceable times encouraged agriculture and trade, men found the produce of corn in the hilly ground turn to small account. They destroyed the woods in the valleys (of which many roots, and trunks of oak and fir are daily digged up), drained swamps and marshes cultivated the rich ground, and removed their houses and habitations into more convenient situations, and more fertile land in the valleys.

The Plains of Moray below the hills, extend the whole length of the Country, from Spey to

Farrar ; but of an unequal breadth, not above 6 miles where broadest. And although the Country is champaign and level, it is so cultivated, that there is no stagnating water or fens, to render it unwholesome by exhalations and vapours.

The Soil of this Country is generally, either a light Sand or a deep Clay. The Sandy Soil in the plains, is called "Moray Coast," two or three feet deep of a light sandy earth, below which is a stratum of free-stone, or of hard compacted gravel. This composition makes it very warm, and the strong reaction of the sunbeams so heats the Soil, that, without frequent showers in Summer, the produce of it is burnt up. The Clay Soil is strong and deep, and when well manured with hot dung or sea ware or weeds, it yieldeth a rich increase ; but it requireth moderate rain, as much as the Sandy Soil doth, for heat and drought bind the Clay, and the circulation of the sap and moisture from the root is stopt : hence the common observation is, *A misty May and a dropping June, brings the bonny land of Moray aboon.*

The Soil in the Highlands is better watered, and by the sides of rivulets and brooks is deep and fertile, and needeth not much rain ; and the valleys running from North-east to South-west, the South side is always most fertile, because it is better watered, and less dried up by the heat of the sun.

The Corn grain produced by this Soil, is, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Beans, and Pease. The low lands are so plentiful in these sorts of grain, that they not only have enough for home consumpt, and supplying some parts of the Highlands, but they export annually good quantities into other kingdoms. And if some parts of the Highlands have not plenty of grain for their consumpt, it is not that the Soil is less fertile, or worse manured; but the Barley and Oats are of a smaller body, and a thicker hool, Providence wisely so ordering, to guard the tender grain, which in cold valleys is apt to be chilled and blasted by clammy mill-dews, and sometimes by hoar frost: and though their grain doth not yield so much meal as in the low lands, it yields more and better straw, which to them is no less useful. But the principal cause why they fall short in Corn, is, that the inhabitants are too many for the small extent of land, in so much, that I have often seen ten persons on a poor farm of twenty pounds Scots. And what is wanting in Corn, is abundantly made up in Cattle, which are their main property.

Of late Flax and Hemp are propagated, the former especially in great plenty, which is manufactured both for home consumpt and for exportation; and no Soil in the kingdom is more proper for Flax, than a part of the low lands of Moray. And it is no less proper, both in the low lands

and Highlands for Hemp ; but the want of shipping discourages the propagation of it.

The Potatoe, almost unknown in this Country eighty years ago, is now everywhere planted with great success, and thereby the poor are supplied, and much barren ground is cultivated, to the no small advantage of the proprietors.

Mustard is likewise propagated in the fields, and might be made a profitable article, in its quality not inferior to any in the Kingdom.

There are no Garden Fruits or Herbs in any part of Britain, but can be brought to as great perfection in the low lands of Moray, by the same or less culture. Gentlemen's Gardens yield, in plenty, Nectarines, Peaches, Apricots, Apples, Pears, Plums, Geens, Cherries, Strawberries, Rasps, Gooseberries, Currants, &c., all of the best kinds. And the kitchen garden affords the greatest plenty of kitchen Herbs and Roots.

Nor are the Wild Fruits and Herbs less various and plentiful, especially in the Highlands, in woods and heaths, such as Hazel-nuts, Service-berries, Sloes, Rasps, Bramble-berries, Hip-berries, Bug-berries, Blae-berries, Averans, or Wild Strawberries. Wild Herbs of the Medicinal kind abound everywhere: as Valerian, Pennyroyal, Maiden-hair, Scurvy-grass, Sorrel, Gentian, Brook-lime, Water-trefoil, Mercury, Germanander, Wormwood, Liver-wort, Sage, Centaury, Buglos, Mallows, Tormentil, Scordium, &c.

I cannot here omit the Root and Herb Carmile, which abounds much in heaths and birch woods. Dio in *Severo*, speaking of the ancient Caledonian, says, “Certum cibi genus parant ad omnia, quem si ceperunt quantum est unius fabæ magnitudo, minime esurire aut sitire solent.”* Dr. Sibbald observes, from *Caes. de. Bel. Civ. lib. 3*, That Valerius's soldiers had found a kind of Root called *Chara*, “quod admistum lacte multum inopiam lævabat, id ad similitudinem panis effecabant, ejus erat magna copia.”† Theophrastus calls it *Radix Scythica*, and says, That the Scythes could live on it and Mare's Milk for many days. To me it is probable, that Cæsar's *Chara*, and our *Carmile* (i.e. the Sweet-root, for it tastes like Liquorish) are the same, and are Dio's *Cibi Genus*. It grows in small knots on the surface of the ground, and bears a green stalk four or five inches long, and a small red flower. I have often seen it gathered, dried and used on journeys, especially on hills, to appease hunger; and being pounded and infused in water, it makes a pleasant wholesome balsamic drink, and is used sometimes in the Highlands.

If we view the Forests, we shall not find them, as in England, large woods enclosed for

* “They provide a certain kind of food, of which if they take the bigness of a Bean, they use not to hunger or thirst.”

† “Which, mixed with Milk, greatly relieves hunger. They prepared it like Bread, and had great plenty of it.”

holding the King's game. Such woods, but not enclosed, there seem to have been in this country, as the Forests of Rothemurchus, Tarnua, Inverculan, &c. And now Forests are such parts of the Mountains and Glens, as are appropriated to the pasturing of Deer and other game. The King is properly the Superior and Master of all Forests, and Gentlemen in whose lands they lie are but the hereditary keepers of them. The Duke of Gordon has large Forests in Glenavon, and in Badenoch, in which I have seen 300 Deer in one flock or herd. Lovat, Grant, Rothemurchus, MacIntosh, Glengary, have fine Forests; but they are now everywhere laid open for pasturing Cattle; and few Deer (which love a clean pasture) are to be found in them, but have removed into the Forest of Athole which is carefully kept.

Notwithstanding the visible destruction of Woods in this Province, by burning, felling, clearing of Valleys and Glens, no Country in Scotland is more plentifully served than this is. In the parish of Duthel, Sir James Grant has a Fir Wood several miles in circuit. And in the parishes of Abernethie, Kinchardine, Rothemurchus, and Alvie, the Duke of Gordon, Grant, MacIntosh, and Rothemurchus, have an almost continued Fir Wood, 14 miles in length, and in some places more than 3 miles in breadth. In Glenmoriston there is a good Fir Wood, and in

Strathglas a very large one. Parts of these Woods are often burnt by accidental fire; and in the year 1746, the Wood of Abernethie suffered some miles in circuit, by which some millions of trees, young and old, were destroyed. Here I cannot but observe, as peculiar to Fir Woods, that they grow and spread always to the East, or between the North and the South-east, but never to the West or South-west. The cause of this seemeth to be, that in the months of July and August, the great heat opens the Fir apples then ripe, and the winds at that season, blowing from South-west to W.S.W., drive the seed out of the open husks to the East and the neighbouring Earths. Almost all the Glens and Valleys abound in Birch, Hazel, Aller, Aspine, Saugh or Sallow, Holly, Willows, Haws, Service-tree, &c. And in the Plains, are the Forest of Tarnuay, and the woods of Inshoch, Kilravock, and Calder; and in this last, and in Inveravon, Alvie, and Urquhart, are large Oaks. I incline to think, that these Woods are the remains of the *Sylva Caledonia*, which Ptolemy extends “*A Lelalonio Lacu ad Æstuarium Vararis,*” from Loch Lomond to the Moray Firth.

With this abundance of Wood, there are Materials for Building found in great plenty. Throughout the Plains of Moray, there are rich quarries of Freestone, easy to hew and dress, and yet durable. And in the Highlands, there is the

greatest plenty of Limestone, besides some quarries of it near Elgin, in Duffus, at Tarnua, &c. Slatestones are found both in the Highlands and Lowlands; and good Clay almost in every parish within the Province.

There are no mines of Coal as yet discovered in this Country; yet I doubt not but such there are, and in a few generations the exigencies of the people will require their digging for them. In the Highlands, there is an inexhaustible store of Turf and Peats; and the Lowlands (except the parishes on the coast, from Spey to Findhorn) are as yet well served in these, and in Broom, Heather, and Furze. I have not observed any Furze or Whins in Strathspey or Badenoch; and only in the low Country: but the Moss ground is much exhausted, and will soon become very scarce.

No Gold, Silver, Copper, Brass, or Tin, has as yet been discovered in this Country. But there are rich Mines of Iron ore in several parts; and at Coulnakyle in Abernethie parish, a Forge was set up lately, which made very good Iron, but through the extravagance and luxury of the Managers was given up. At Achluncart, in the parish of Boharm, there is a quarry of fine Whetstone; and in Glenlivat, and other places, there is great plenty of rich Marle for Manure.

Let me add, that there is in this Country, several materials for Dyeing, which the people

use with success. With the top of Heather they make a Yellow colour ; with a red moss growing on stones, and called Korkir, they dye Red ; with the bark of the Alder or Aller tree, they dye Black ; and a Gentleman in the parish of Kirk-michael had several hands employed in gathering, in the hills, Materials for dyeing Blue, Ingrain, Purple, &c. I have seen some of the Indigo he has made, and it proves very rich and good. This invention, if successful, may be a great benefit to the Country. But the Gentleman died lately ; and with him, that useful art.

Having surveyed the Land, I shall now look into the Waters. The Moray Firth is the only Salt Water in this Province, and extended the whole length of it. It is somewhat remarkable, that though from Buchan Ness to Beaulie, the Firth is about 70 miles in length, and in some places 20 in breadth, there is not any one island in it. The North shore of this Firth, in Ross and Cromarty, is high and rocky ; but the opposite Moray shore is low and sandy : hence, by the Water rebounding from the Ross side, it encroacheth much, in some places, on the Moray side. On the confines of the parishes of Duffus and Alves, there is a small Bay, which about sixty years ago or little more, was a moss, in which they digged up great roots of trees, and abundance of peats, and now a five hundred ton ship may ride at anchor in it. And when some

years ago, I viewed it, I found, that, if the sea shall encroach further, and rise about 4 feet higher, it will overflow and drown all the plains of Duffus, Kenedar, and Innes. The like encroachment it begins to make, at the Town of Findhorn; for, as it formerly cut off the old Town, it is not improbable that it will surround this new Town, and endanger the lands of Muirtoun and Kinloss.

The Fresh Waters are, the Rivers already named, and the Lakes. The Water in all these is light and wholesome; and not to mention here the Salmon taken in the rivers, Spey serveth to float down much of the Oak and Fir Woods to Germach, where they are sawed and shipped for export. The Loch and River of Ness likewise are very useful, not only in keeping a communication by Water to Fort Augustus, but in floating much Wood from Glenmoriston and Urquhart to Inverness. The Firs of Strathglas are in like manner brought down the River Farar to Beaulie. I shall afterwards speak of Loch Ness and Lochindorb. The other Lakes have nothing remarkable, but what shall be observed in treating of

The Animal produce of this Country, whether on the Land or in the Waters.

Among the tame land animals, the Horse claims the preference. In the Lowlands, they have got of late a brood of Horses, much stronger than they formerly had, and very fit both for the

saddle and draught ; yet, in the Highlands, their small Horses are more proper for rough and hilly ground. They are small, strong, and durable ; and being pastured among hills and rocks, they are very sure footed ; when they come to a mire or bog, they smell to it, and sound it with one foot, and if they find not a firm bottom, they will not go forward ; they live and work in winter upon a little straw, without any corn. The Oxen and Cows are small, owing to the climate ; but their flesh is more delicious, than what is stall-fed. In the Plains where they sow grass seeds, they have Cows of a bigger size ; but in the Highlands, the small Cattle are more serviceable, where their pasture in Summer is in woods and hills. The Sheep, though of a small size, are broody, and their flesh is tender and delicate ; the Wool in Strathspey and Badenoch is little inferior in fineness to the English Wool. The Highlands are well stored with Goats, whose flesh, though dry and strong, is very wholesome ; their Milk and Whey are medicinal restoratives, as they browse upon the finest herbs among the rocks. Their Skins are a good article of trade. Hogs are not plentiful in this Country, but the few that are fed about mills and barns are very good. The Dogs are of various kinds, some small and mild, others large and surly. Some Terriers, to ferret the Fox out of his hole. But the most remarkable is the Greyhound, so swift

and strong as to catch and kill the Red Deer in the Forest.

The Woods and the Hills shelter many Wild Beasts, as well the useful as the hurtful. The Red Deer in our hills are allowed to be of the largest size, and, if the Forests were duly kept, would be very plentiful; they are of the gregarious kind, and go in herds; they always browse in the hills, and move forward against the wind, and never with it, but when they are chased; they shed their horns annually until they become old; the young horns for some months are covered with a skin as fine and soft as velvet, to preserve them against the inclemency of the weather; as the Deer keep the open hills, the Roes are seldom found except in woods; the Foxes destroy so many of their young, that now they are but few in number. Hares are to be met with everywhere, even in the high hills, where in Winter they change their colour into white. We have very few Rabbits in this Country. These are the useful Wild Beasts in this Country, and fit for food. The rapacious and hurtful beasts are but few: I cannot find that ever there were in this Country any Lions, Tigers, Leopards, or Bears. It appears by the names of several places, and by statutes made for destroying them, that there were Wolves in this Country about 300 years ago; but now there are none. There are still in this Province, Foxes, Badgers, Martens,

Squirrels, Weasels, Whitreds, Wild Cats. Of these the Fox is the most hurtful, and destroys not only much of the Game, but also Lambs, Kids, Fawns, &c., and notwithstanding the many arts used to destroy them, they find such shelter in woods and rocks, that they are very numerous. The Badger is a harmless animal, and lives upon grass ; he is so strong in the back, that no stroke will kill him, but a small stroke on the forehead lays him flat. The Marten is of the Cat kind, but the head is small and long, and the colour a dark brown, and the fur nothing inferior to sable ; it haunts the woods, lives on mice, birds, &c., and is quite harmless, but defends fiercely when attacked, or when it has its young. The Squirrel is a pretty, sportive, harmless creature ; it is a kind of a Wood-Weasel, haunts the fir trees, if you toss chips or sticks at it, it will toss pieces of the bark back again, and thus sports with you ; if it is driven out of a tree, and skipping into another finds the distance too great, it turns back to its former lodge, its bushy tail serving for a sail or wings to it. The Weasel, a kind of Pole-cat, and the Whitred are well known. In the Highlands they change their colour into white in time of snow. The Wild Cats are no other than the House Cats that leave their home, and lodge in rocks and woods, and in this Country do little hurt. To these let me add the Mice and Rats, that are well known, and yet not so destructive

here as in other places. I have never seen any Rats in Strathspey or Badenoch, although I have lived long in these Countries.

Of the Viperous or Poisonous Animals, there are few in this Country. The Serpents are small, few of them a yard long, and their bite is commonly cured by a bath of the leaves, buds, and tender bark of the Ash tree. They cast their slough or epidermis annually. It is a common opinion, that Serpents have a power of charming and bringing down into their mouths, Birds, Squirrels, and other animals; whether this is done by poisonous effluvia breathed out by the Serpent, and affecting animals within the sphere of these effluvia, so that they are stupefied, and fall down; or if, as the eye of the setting dog makes the partridges stand confounded, so the Bird, knowing the Serpent to be his natural enemy, is stupefied with fear seeing the Serpent's eye fixed upon him, and so falls; or what else may be the cause, I shall not determine, nor inquire.

Lizards are frequent, generally about 5 inches; but I have seen some a foot in length. They are of a dark yellow colour, run swiftly in the heaths, and are very harmless. Toads and frogs are not very numerous. Caterpillars in April and May often destroy the fruit of trees and shrubs. But we have few of those Gnats, which in other Countries are extremely troublesome.

The number of Feathered Animals, which are either Natives of this Country, or Birds of passage, that visit us annually, is considerable. The Tame or Barn-door Fowls, as Peacocks, Turkeys, Geese, Ducks, Pigeons and Poultry, are plentiful. The Ravenous and Carnivorous Wild Fowls are numerous. Among these, the Eagle is, with us, called the King of Birds. He destroys not only much of the small game, but also Lambs, Kids, Calves, and Foals. He nestles commonly in high rocks, difficult to come at; but indulgent Nature has provided that the ravenous Eagle and Hawk should have but few young, and seldom more than two in the year; when the harmless little Wren has ten or twelve. Hawks, Gleds, Sten-chils, Ravens, Crows, Rooks, Magpies, &c., are numerous. The harmless Wild Fowls are, the Swan, Caperkylie (called also the Cock of the Wood), in Latin *Capricalca*, as if he infested the Goats, but properly in Irish *Capal-Coil*, i.e. the Wood Horse, being the chief Fowl in the Woods. He resembles, and is of the size of a Turkey Cock, of a dark grey, and red about the eyes; he lodges in bushy Fir trees, and is very shy: but the Hen, which is much less in size, lays her eggs in the Heather, where they are destroyed by Foxes and Wild Cats, and thereby the Caperkylie is become rare. His flesh is tender and delicious, though somewhat of a resinous Fir taste.

The Water Animals in this Country are common to it with other places. In, and near to the Moray Firth, is found, Cod, Ling, Haddock, Whiting, Skate, Flounders, Mackerel, Prawns : and of the Testaceous kind, Oysters, Cockles, Muscles, Lobsters, Crabs, in such plenty, that there is not in Britain a cheaper Fish Market. The nearness of this Firth to the Northern Ocean made it anciently much frequented by Whales ; insomuch, that Orkney had its name from that Fish. For in Irish, *Orc* is a species of Whale, and *Y* an Island ; and so *Orcy*, is the Island of Whales. As yet Whales follow Shoals of Cod, or Herring into this Firth. In 1719, a Whale upwards of 50 feet in length, was left by the tide at Phopachie, near Inverness ; another of the like dimensions was stranded in the Barony of Innes ; and one in the Barony of Inshoch, about the year 1754. They were all of the *Cetus Dentatus* kind, and yielded much *Spermaceti*. Young Whales, Porpoises, Seals, are frequent in the Firth, and sometimes plenty of Herring. The rivers of Spey, Findhorn, Ness, and Farar, abound in Salmon of the best kind. And in all our Rivers and Brooks, are delicious Trouts and Eels. I have seen in Spey, some Lampreys, which seem to be of the longer Eel kind, above 4 feet in length, and of a great thickness. In all our Lakes there are Pikes of a very large size, and in many Lochs, particularly

in the Loch of Moy, near MacIntosh's house, there is so great plenty of a fat Trout, called Red-wame (because the belly of it is of a vermillion red), that at one cast of the net, there will be taken out sometimes upwards of 200. In the river of Spey, there are Pearl Shells, in which I have seen many ripe Pearls, of a fine water, and great value.

I shall now conclude this part, with an account of the Rarities, whether of Nature or Art, found in this Country. And,

1. The only Rarities of Art I shall take notice of, are: The Chapter House, called the *Apprentice Isle*, in the Cathedral at Elgin; for which, see Part VI. *Ecclesiast. History*, § 3. The Obelisk near Forres: see Part V. *Military History*. The Sea Burgh: see Part V. *Military History*. And the Druid Circles and Cairns: see Part VI. *Ecclesiast. History*, § 2.

2. As to Natural Rarities, the Loch and River of Ness merit our notice. These never freeze, but retain their natural heat in the most extreme frost. Upon the Banks of the Loch, Snow seldom lies two days; and Corn ripens much sooner than in other places. This quality is probably owing to Mines of Sulphur in and near to the Loch. This Loch, though about 22 miles in length, has no Island in it; in some parts, it has been sounded with a line of about 300 fathoms, and no bottom found. This depth, with the

lightness of the water, makes waves rise very high, yet not unbroken upon it. What Mr. Gordon writes in his Geography, on the authority of Sir George MacKenzie, Advocate, concerning the Hill *Meal-fuor-vonie*, is a mistake. That Hill is not two thirds of a mile of perpendicular height from the surface of the Loch, neither is there any Lake on the top of it.

3. The Loch of Dundlechack, in the parish of Durris, does not freeze before the month of February; but in that month, it is in one night covered with Ice. This I have been assured of, by the inhabitants near to it.

4. The Cascade, or Water Fall near to Fohir in Stratherick. Here the River Feachlin, contracted between Rocks, falls down a precipice about an 100 feet high, as I conjecture from a bare view of it, and breaking on the rocky shelves, the water is dissipated and rarified, and fills the great hollow with a perpetual mist.

5. The Carnorm Stones. This Mountain, of a great height, is in Kinchardine in Strathspey; about the top of it, stones are found of a crystal colour, deep yellow, green, fine amber, &c., and very transparent, of a hexagon, octagon, and irregular figure. They are very solid, will cut as well as diamond, and being now in great request, are much searched for, on this, and other hills; they are cut for rings, seals, pendants, snuff boxes, &c.

6. In the Parishes of Kinnedar and Duffus, there are several Caves; some are 10 or 12 feet high, and it is uncertain how far they extend; they open to the sea, in a hill of freestone, and probably were formed by the impetuous waves washing away the sand and gravel between the strata of stone.

7. Chalybeate Mineral Water, at Teynland in Lhanbride; at Achterblair in Duthil; at Auchnagairn, in Kirkhill, and other places; an unctuous mineral at Miltoun of Rylugas in Edinkylie. These are much frequented, and found medicinal in several diseases.

8. The Black Cock, called by some writers of zoology *Gallus Scoticanus* as peculiar to Scotland. It is the most beautiful fowl of our country, larger in the body than any Capon, of the colour of the Peacock, but wanting the proud train, which would retard his flight; he haunts the birch woods in the hills, and is very shy; although he is not so large in the body as a Goose, he has more flesh, and is more delicious.

9. I may reckon among our Rarities, the Hill of Benalar on the South side of Spey, in the braes of Badenoch. It is not improbable, but this is the highest ground in Scotland; for brooks from it fall into Spey, Lochie, and Tay, and so enter into the Sea at Germach, Fort William, and Dundee.

10. Let me add, as now become a rarity, the

Courach. This nautic vessel was anciently much used ; Solinus, *Cap. 22.* says of the Irish in his day, “*Navigant autem vimineis alveis, quos circundant ambitione tergorum bubulorum,*”* a short, but exact, description of the *Courach*. It is in shape oval, near 3 feet broad, and 4 long ; a small keel runs from the head to the stern ; a few ribs are placed across the keel, and a ring of pliable wood around the lip of it. The whole machine is covered with the rough hide of an ox or a horse ; the seat is in the middle, it carries but one person, or if a second goes into it to be wafted over a river, he stands behind the rower, leaning on his shoulders ; in floating timber, a rope is fixed to the float, and the rower holds it in one hand, and with the other manages the paddle ; he keeps the float in deep water, and brings it to shore when he will ; in returning home, he carries the machine on his shoulders, or on a horse. In Irish, *Curach* signifies the trunk or coat of the body ; and hence this vessel had its name, and probably its first model.

11. I shall add but one Rarity more, not indeed natural to this Country, but adventitious ; I mean the Locust ; which came to our coast in July 1748, and for aught I know was never before seen in it. This flying insect is full two inches long in the body, and half an inch round, consisting

* *Translation.*—For they sail in hollow boats, made of osiers, which they cover, in rivalry, with the hides of oxen.

of several rings or cartilages ; the head is in the form of a lobster's head, broad and covered with strong scales, with two antennæ ; the mouth wide, and armed with sharp teeth ; the neck and shoulders covered with a scale like a helmet ; the eyes large and lively ; it has three pair of legs, the nearest to the head about an inch in length, the next pair somewhat longer, and both armed with sharp claws ; the third pair, with which it leaps, are two inches long, besides the foot that is near half an inch ; the leg has an inflexure or joint in the middle ; the upper part or thigh, is in form like a bird's thigh ; the lower half is smaller, but serrated like a saw ; the foot has three glands in the sole to tread softly, and is armed with three claws on the heel, and as many at the point, to take a firm hold ; the body is covered with two pair of wings, the under wing is finer, and of a silver colour, and the upper is stronger, and spotted of silver and brown ; when the wings are folded, the whole length of the locust is two inches and a half. From what country they came here I know not, but they found this climate too cold to generate in.

PART IV.

THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF MORAY.

IT cannot well be doubted, that the ancient inhabitants of this Province, were the Picts and the Scots; the one inhabiting the Lowlands on the coast, the other the Highlands among the hills. The Romans called the former *Picti*, because they painted their bodies; but their true name was *Phichtiad*, i.e. fighters, because they were brave and valiant. The ancient writers bring them from the European Scythia; Bede, *Lib. 1.* says, “It happened that the Picts from Scythia, as it is said, entered the ocean in long ships. Coming to Britain, they began to reside in the northern parts of the island, for the Britons had possessed the southern.” And Nennius, *Sect. 9* writes, “The Picts came and possessed the islands called the Orkneys, and afterwards from the adjacent islands wasted many large countries in the left, i.e. eastern side of Britain, and there remain to this day.”

The Picts thus coming from Scandia, about the mouth of the Baltic Sea, had an easy course to Shetland and Orkney, and thence to the

continent, where, it is by all acknowledged, they possessed the eastern coast, southward to Tweed, and consequently they inhabited the plains of Moray. The Scots were so called by the Romans, from *Sceot*, i.e., in Celtic, a shield or target, which they much used. They were unquestionably Celts, and the same with the ancient Britains, and were driven by the Picts (as Nennius hints) out of the Grampian coast, into the glens and valleys. When the Pictish kingdom was overthrown about anno 842, the Picts were not extirpated as some authors write. It is certain, they made a part of King David's army in the Battle of the Standard anno 1138. And when, in the reign of King Malcolm IV., many of the Moravienses were transplanted into the south (Vide *Milit. Hist.*), Lowlanders, no doubt, of a Pictish descent, were brought to replace them; and so the inhabitants of the Lowlands of Moray were, and as yet are, of a Pictish origin.

This is confirmed by the language of the country; for though gentlemen, and all who have any liberal education, speak the English tongue in great propriety, yet the illiterate peasants use the broad Scottish or Buchan Dialect, which is manifestly the Pictish. And the Pictish, English, Saxon, Danish, Swedish, Icelandish, and Norwegian, are but the various dialects of the Gothic and Teutonic languages; as the British, Welsh, Cornish, Scottish, Irish, are dialects of

the Gallic and Celtic. Now that, since the Revolution in 1688, schools are erected both in the Highlands and Lowlands, the English tongue spreads and prevails ; insomuch, that in the parishes of Inveravon, Knockando, Edinkylie, and Nairn, where, in my time, Divine Worship was performed in Irish [Erse], now there is no occasion for that language.

What the manners and way of living of the ancient inhabitants were, we can know only by the short hints Roman writers give us, of the ancient Caledonians, Scots, and Picts, which I shall not here transcribe. But what Tacitus, *De Mor. Germ.* writes is true of this country in its ancient state. “They do not dwell together in towns, but live separate, as a fountain of water, a plain, or a grove pleased them.” Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* 20, in describing a Gothish gentleman, gives a lively picture of a Highland Scotsman. “He covers his feet to the ankle with hairy leather, or rullions, his knees and legs are bare, his garment is short, close, and parti-coloured, hardly reaching to his hams, his sword hangs down from his shoulder, and his buckler covers his left side.” Nay, Dr. Shaw’s Account of the Arabs and Kabyles of Barbary is a plain description of the more rude parts both of the Lowlands and Highlands. They are, says he, the same people, if we except their religion, they were 2000 years ago ; without regarding the

novelties in dress or behaviour, that so often change. Their *Gurbies*, i.e. houses, are daubed over with mud, covered with turf, have but one chamber, and in a corner of it, are the foals, kids, and calves. The *Hyke*, i.e. blanket or plaid, six yards long and two broad, serves for dress in the day, and for bed and covering in the night; by day, it is tucked by a girdle. Their Mills for grinding corn, are two small grindstones, the uppermost turned round by a small handle of wood, placed in the edge of it. When expedition is required, then two persons sit at it, generally women." This explains *Ex.* ii. 5, *Mat.* xxiv. 41.

One would imagine the doctor had been describing the way of living in Glengary. It might be easily made appear, that the ancient Moravianses, though bold and brave, were contentious, proud, turbulent, and revengeful, and upon the smallest provocation run to arms, and butchered one another; and this wicked disposition ran in the blood, from one generation to another.

But now that fierce and wild temper is done away, and no country in the kingdom is more civilized than the Lowlands of Moray. Their education, since the Revolution, verifies, that *Ingenuas didicisse feliciter artes, Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.** And even the Highlands, except Glengary, and some other skirts, are more

* *Translation.*—To have successfully acquired the liberal arts, refines our manners, nor permits them to be ever coarse.

peaceable and industrious than other Highland countries. In a word, one will not find, in the common people of this country, either the rusticity of the Lowlanders, or the rudeness of the Highlanders in some other countries; and the gentry are not exceeded by any of their neighbours for politeness and civility. In no country are the people more hospitable; both the gentry and the peasants have a pleasure in entertaining strangers, in which they rather exceed than fall short; and this hospitable temper is remarked in the Highlands, where there are but few inns to accommodate travellers, and where the natives, in looking after their cattle, often travel from one country to another; yet I must own, that some other social virtues are rather on the decline; that benevolence, in supplying the wants and relieving the distresses of relations and neighbours, and mutually assisting one another in their necessary affairs, that once shined in this country, are degenerated into selfishness. The laudable custom of accommodating debates and differences, by an amicable arbitration, is become obsolete, through the craft of the chicaning tribe. And to the same set of men it is much owing, that there is less of ingenuity and plainness, of trust and confidence in social dealing, than I have seen.

The skill of this people in mechanics, and their genius for arts and sciences, are not inferior to

any other corner of the kingdom. The peasants build houses, make all their instruments for agriculture, frame their corn and sawmills, and many of them are tanners, shoemakers, weavers, joiners, &c.; nor is their capacity for arts and sciences inferior to their skill in mechanics. No people sooner learn the art of war, or make more eminent officers and brave soldiers. It is true, in later ages the Lowlanders, formerly brave, by their continual labour about their farms, and by the disuse of arms, have become more heavy and phlegmatic; and yet when brought young into the military, are exceeded by no soldiers in bravery and fidelity. The Highlanders have always had a peculiar advantage for martial exercises. The fresh and wholesome air they breathe, their plain and homely diet, their continual motion and exercise, render them vigorous, healthy, and lively. They are inured to cold and fatigue, and accustomed to arms from their childhood, which, with the rugged rocks they daily traverse, inspire them with a contempt of dangers and difficulties; and their freedom from slavery and vassalage (except a dependence on their chiefs who encouraged their manliness), gave them a sprightliness, and generosity of mind, elevated above the boorish and mean spirit of the common soldiery. The generous, brave, and steady behaviour of the Highland regiments in the late wars, abundantly evinces that they

were an honour to their country. How long they shall continue so I shall not pretend to guess. The Highlanders being disarmed, and stripped of their native dress, appear not only awkward and slovenly in the Lowland garb, but dejected and dispirited. But if this change of dress makes them less fit for the field, it may render them more fit for the farm, and the useful arts of life.

In brief, the genius of the inhabitants of this country will appear from the following list of men, eminent in the State and in the field, on the bench and in the Church, all of them natives of, or residing in Moray:—viz., Sir John Cummine Lord Badenoch, conjunct Guardian of the Kingdom, anno 1299:—Thomas Randolph Earl of Moray, Governor in 1329:—Sir Andrew Moray, Lord Bothwell, of the Family of Duffus, conjunct Governor in 1332:—John Randolph, Earl of Moray, General in 1346:—Gavin Dunbar, grandson of Sir Alexander of Westfield, Chancellor in 1528; and one of the Regents in 1536:—the Earls of Huntley often Chancellors:—John Lesly Bishop of Ross, bastard son of the Parson of Kingusie, President of the Court of Session in 1564:—Duncan Forbes of Culloden, late President of that Court:—Alex. Brodie of Brodie; Sir Francis Grant of Cullen; Patrick Grant of Elchies; all Senators of the College of Justice:—Gavin Dunbar above mentioned, Archbishop of

Glasgow 1524 :—Gavin Dunbar, son of Sir Alex. of Westfield, Bishop of Aberdeen 1518 :—Gilbert Moray, son of Duffus, Bishop of Caithness anno 1222 :—John Innes, son of John Innes of that ilk, Bishop of Moray in 1406 :—Adam Gordon, son of Huntley, Bishop of Caithness in 1460 :—Alex. Gordon, son of Huntley, Bishop of Galloway 1558 :—John Lesly above mentioned, Bishop of Ross anno 1665.—Not to mention the Bishops of Moray, natives of the country, nor the learned Professors and Advocates of later times. *Experientia constat, Summos sæpe viros, et magna exempla daturos, Vervecum in patria, crassoque sub aere nasci.**

If we view the agriculture, improvements, manufactures, trade, and commerce of this Province, we will not find them such as might be expected. The people have, for ages, continued in one beaten tract of agriculture. Their only manure, in the inland, is the raw dung of cattle, not fermented or rotten, but mixed with coarse gravel, or dry sand; near the coast, they mix sea-ware in the dunghill; if the soil were not good, it would yield little by such poor manure. Marle, a fat and unctuous earth, and limestone in abundance, are found in many places. Few parts of the dry and hot soil in the Highlands or Low-

* Translation.—It is by experience established, that often-times great men, and about to present shining examples, are born under a heavy atmosphere, and in mountainous districts.

lands but may be moistened and fattened by an easy conveyance of rills of water to them; and by enclosing the corn land, resting it, and sowing grass seeds, it would be greatly improved. But the severe exactions of masters, and the poverty of tenants, hinder all improvements. Tenants have neither ability nor encouragement to try experiments; some have no leases; and if they who have them shall improve their farms, strangers will reap the benefit of it; for at the expiration of the lease, they must pay an additional rent, or a high grassum, or entry-money, which, if they refuse, the farm will be put to the roup, and the improver will be removed.

The country is very capable of improvement, and several branches of police and improvement, which might be easily made, are much wanted. In the plains of Moray, the moss ground, from which they take their fuel, and in which the tenants find fir-roots for light, and fir and oak timber for building, will soon be exhausted; and the price of wood from the Highlands is become very high. But of late, the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Findlater and Fife, Sir James Grant, Sir Lewis Grant, and some other gentlemen, have planted millions of barren trees, and continue in such improvement; yet no care is taken to plant barren timber in the extensive heaths and moors, or indeed anywhere, except a few trees about gentlemen's seats. In no country can the open

fields be more easily enclosed, either with a dry stone dyke or wall, or with a ditch, bank and hedges. But this is totally neglected, except about gentlemen's manors. The watering of ground is a rational and easy, and in other countries a beneficial improvement; but here not once attempted. The draining of lakes and marshy ground would at once improve and beautify the country; but the discords of heritors prevent it. No country in Scotland yields finer wool, or may yield better flax; yet there are no factories, for either woollen or linen cloth: and it is well known how conveniently the country is situated for a herring fishery; but it is totally neglected.

In these useful branches our country is shamefully deficient; but in some others, a small advance has been made of late. Gentlemen have drained and enclosed their own manors, which till of late lay open and naked. Wheat is propagated in greater plenty, and of a better body, by fallowing the ground, and bringing the seed from England. Flour mills and mills for sheeling barley are set up. Flax is propagated with good success. Lint mills and bleachfields are erected: and in the Highlands, the propagating flax, and spinning it, make progress, by the encouragement given by the trustees, who have settled a factory at Invermoriston, purchased ground, built the proper houses, and allow liberal salaries to an

overseer, spinsters, wheel-wrights, flax-dressers, &c., and now the country has linen coarse and fine for home consumpt, and a small quantity for export; and though we have no factories for weaving, yet we have good weavers of plain and figured linen. The manufacturing of broad woollen cloth is likewise improved by private hands; and, which was little known 30 years ago, cotton cloth is wrought and dyed with success. Let me add, that Potatoes are now planted everywhere, to the great benefit of the poor, and the improving of ground. Grass seeds are sown by gentlemen to great advantage.

With respect to trade and commerce, there are many obstructions. We have no good Harbours; Garmoch or Speymouth is often choked with banks of sand; Lossiemouth is but a creek, and receives no ships of any burdens; Findhorn is much barred; and Inverness river receives but sloops and doggers. Were our harbours good, we have but few articles for export. Our merchants are generally men of no stock; and our landed gentlemen have no inclination to employ their money in this way. The commodities our country affords for export either into foreign countries, or neighbouring countries, are these:

Barley and oatmeal, to the quantity of about 20,000 bolls, may be exported annually; and this article may be improved to much greater extent. Salmon is a considerable article, and no country

affords better fish, than what is taken in the rivers of Spey, Findhorn, and Ness, Farar or Beauly, to the value of several thousands of pounds yearly. The white fishing of cod and ling turns to small account: linen cloth is an improving article, and might become a staple commodity, did gentlemen set up work-houses, and encourage the manufacture. Although our wool is not manufactured at home to any advantage, yet considerable quantities of it are sold in the counties of Banff and Aberdeen. Beef and pork are exported, though not to a great amount; thousands of black cattle are annually sold in the south of Scotland, and in England; great flocks of sheep are driven to Deeside, and other countries; and some horses are likewise sold. No small benefit arises from the woods in the Highlands, which furnish the neighbouring counties with plank, deal, board, joists, and all kinds of timber for building carts, waggons, labouring instruments, bark for tanning, pike staves, &c. To which, let me add, that the Highlands furnish much peltrie, raw hides, skins of deer, roe, fox, hare, otters, wild cats, goats, badgers, &c.

For home consumpt we have in plenty, corn, fleshes and fishes, butter, cheese, honey, fruits, fowls, tame and wild, tallow, &c. In a word, would gentlemen live at home and improve the country; would they encourage the tenants, and exempt them from slavish servitude; would all

ranks live frugally and wisely, small as the produce of our country is, it may be called

*Terra suis contenta bonis, nec indiga mercis.**

But the luxury and vanity of our times know no bounds. Even they that live on alms are infected by it. It must be restrained, or the country will be impoverished. In few countries do the peasants live more poorly; and though many of the gentry do grind the faces of the poor, they do not enrich themselves. They multiply exactions upon the people, who dare not complain; and they exhaust their own fortunes by the expense of imitating the manners and luxury of their more wealthy neighbours.

I shall now take a view of the Civil Government of this country, as it is divided into Counties and Burghs; and as it may be thought that a general view of the feudal system may throw some light on this, I shall, from Mr. Dalrymple's accurate essay on Feudal Property, extract a few lines.

The Goths and Vandals having over-run the Roman empire, settled the feudal law in the countries they conquered. They went abroad, though under a General, as independent clans, to find a settlement; and when they settled

* *Translation.*—A land content with its own, nor in want of foreign merchandise.

in any conquered country, they must fall into some subordination. Their General naturally became their prince or king ; and all must be ready, at a military call, to maintain their conquest. Of the conquered land, (1) some part would be reserved for the prince or king. (2) The rest would be parcelled out among the chieftains. (3) Such of the ancient inhabitants as were allowed to remain in the country (for it was not their way to extirpate them) kept their lands on the ancient footing ; and (4) Such intruders and followers as were not attached to any chieftain, taking possession of any vacant land, enjoyed it on the same footing. The King judged and led out to war in his own lands ; the chieftains did so in their lands ; and the King sent his officers to judge in the third and fourth classes. In France, lands held on the ancient footing were called *Alleux* or *Allodial* ; the officer sent to command in them was termed *Count* ; those living under his jurisdiction were named *Liberi* and *Milites*, i.e., who owned no superior in a feudal, though subject to the King in a political way. Lands held on the feudal footing were called *Feodaux* ; those holding them were named *Leuds*, i.e. Lords, and they judged their own people, led them to war, and were no way subject to the Counts. Among the Saxons in England, lands granted to the Thanes or Lords were called *Thain-land*, and if held by

charter, *Boc-land*. Hence the proprietors of Boc-land were called *Thegen*, i.e. lords ; and those under them *Theoden*. Allodial lands, over which the King's officer, called *Reve* and *Sherive*, had jurisdiction, were called *Reve-land*, and being held without writ, *Folkland*. The governors of such lands were called *Coples*, i.e. Counts, and those under them *Ceorles*. At first, grants of conquered lands were made only during pleasure, afterwards for life ; and because men would not serve in war, if by their death their families would be ruined, therefore grants were made hereditary.

In all the Gothic constitutions, honour and dignity (such as Count, Earl, Thane, Lord) were originally annexed to lands and offices. An Earl was the governor and judge of a province, and only during pleasure or for life. William the Conqueror made these offices hereditary and feudal. Then Earls, too great to bear the fatigue of business, appointed Deputies, Vice-comites, or Sherives. This left an earldom not so much a territorial office as a territorial dignity. Afterwards, though the estate was lost, the honour was allowed to continue with the family ; or lands were erected into an earldom, in favours of the grantee and his heirs, and this conferred on him the territorial dignity, though he had neither office nor property in these lands.

In Scotland and in other nations the feudal

system was established by degrees. King Malcolm II. made advances to it. The outlines of it consisted in making the crown-vassals hold by military service ; in certain profits paid on change of heirs ; in granting the Superior the incidents of ward and marriage ; and in making the King not a supreme magistrate, but a paramount superior, invested in the whole property of the kingdom, and his vassals attached to him by homage and fealty. To subject themselves to feudal service, to surrender all their lands to the King during the minority of the heirs, and to pay a year's rent at the entry of every heir, were perquisites the nobles and chieftains would not yield without a valuable compensation. And this granted, (1) A part of the Crown lands was given, on condition of military service ; and if the gift was considerable, the receiver could not handsomely refuse to allow his own estate to be engrossed in the charter. (2) Titles of honour were conferred on many ; and (3) Whereas lands were formerly held by possession only, without writ, charters were granted, as the most solemn and sure title to land. By these baits they were gradually allured to give up their independency, and to accept of their own estates as a gift from the King, holding of him by military tenure.

The only Count or Earl anciently in this province was the Earl of Moray. The charter to Thomas Randolph is in the reign of King Robert.

Before that time, the Earls of Moray were probably officers or governors, during pleasure or for life. But Randolph's dignity was manifestly territorial and hereditary. The privileges granted to him were ample, such as a regality in the whole county; the superiority of baronies and freeholders, and of the boroughs of Elgin, Forres, and Nairn; the patronage of Parish Churches; and the military command of the whole county. But the patronage of Prelacies, the town and castle of Inverness, and the reversion of the whole county were reserved to the Crown.

This Charter beareth no date, though granted anno 1313 (*Char. Mor.*) Ancient charters often wanted the date of time and place, as King Duncan's charter. Some name the place but no time. In some a remarkable fact is related instead of the time, as in the charter of Innes. I do not find that any of our Kings before the 8th year (1221) of King Alexander II. used the plural NOS in their charters. And in England, King Richard I. or his immediate predecessors, first used that style. And how soon Kings used it, the nobles and prelates copied from them.

Our Kings never did subscribe their charters and grants, but only affixed their seals to them, and of late they superscribe them. And though the names of witnesses to Royal deeds were inserted in the body of the writ, yet they never

did, nor as yet do manually subscribe ; but of old they affixed their seals to it. The crosses subjoined to King Duncan's charter were drawn by the writer, or rather the King and witnesses drew the crosses, and the scribes wrote the names. The foundation-charter of the Abbey of Sccone, by King Alexander I., anno 1115, thus ends :—“Ego Alexander Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum, propria manu mea hæc confirmo.—Ego Sybilla Regina confirmo.”* These names were written by the scribe, and the Roman letter E was in red or in gold. And with respect to the Deeds of subjects, it was not necessary, before 1681, that either the writer or the witnesses should be designed in the writ ; or that the witnesses subscribing should be the only probative witnesses. (*Vide Act Parl.* 1681).

King Malcolm III. was the first who affixed a seal to his deeds, but without any armorial figures. His son Duncan used cross and seal. King Alexander I. introduced counter-sealing ; and King William (whose reign commenced anno 1165) first used armorial figures on his seal. The figures formerly on Royal seals, were, as on King Edgar's, viz., the King on the throne, a sword in one hand, and a sceptre in the other, with this inscription, “Ymago Edgari Scot-

* *Translation*.—I, Alexander, by the favour of God King of the Scots, confirm this grant by my proper signature. I, Queen Sybilla, likewise confirm it.

torum Basilei.”* In England, King Richard I., who began to reign anno 1189, first used armorial figures. The Barons and gentry had their seals likewise early charged, but not with armorial figures. “Every Baron and any other holding of the King, shall have his proper seal; and such as shall not have it shall be liable in the King’s fine. And what are sealed shall be also signed, as used to be done in former times.” (*Stat. Rob. III.*) In observance of this law, gentlemen sent their seals to the Court in lead, which the clerk kept by him (*M’Kenz. Herald*). To seal bonds, deeds, and conveyances was the custom till anno 1540. Then besides sealing, the grantor’s manual subscription, or that of a notary, was made necessary. (*Act Parl. 1540. Pref. to Diplom. Scot.*) To return from this digression.

We had several Thanes in this Province. Concerning these, Fordoun, *Lib. iv., Cap. 45*, writes: —“Kings in ancient times used to grant to their soldiers more or less of their lands in feu-farm—a part of some province or thanedom; for in that era the whole kingdom almost was divided into thanedoms, of which he gave to any one just as he thought fit; secured either from year to year, as to husbandmen; or from ten or twenty years; or for the whole life to one, or at most to two heirs, as to sons or to sons-in-law. To some,

* The representation of Edgar, King of the Scots.

however, but to very few, in perpetuity, such as to esquires, thanes, or chieftains." Probably these Thanes were at first the King's servants (so the word signifies), or officers in provinces or countries, and during pleasure only, or for life. But afterwards the title and the lands granted to them were made hereditary. In the Highlands they were termed *Mormbaor*, i.e. a Great Officer; and hence probably, came *Marus comitatus Regis*. They were likewise called *Tosche* (from *Tus.*, i.e. First) that is, "Principal Persons, Primores."

In this Province we had, The Thane of Moray ; of whom I know no more, but that the lands of Ligate, Newton, Ardgaoith, &c., in the parishes of Spynie and Alves, are called the Thanedom of Moray.—The Thane of Brodie and Dyke was probably the ancestor of the family of Brodie.—Thanus de Moithes (probably Moy or Moyness) is one of the Inquest, in estimating the baronies of Kilravock and Geddes. But I know no more of that Thanedom. In the year 1367, Joannes de Dolais was Thane of Cromdale. Whether or not he was the Earl of Fife's steward or factor of these lands, I know not. An account of the Thanes of Calder is given. The succession of these Thanes, always so designed, continued to the year 1500 ; and in this family the title of Thane was honorary and not official ; at least since the time of King Alexander III. I question not but the title of Thane was more ancient with us

than the titles of honour that now obtain. Dempster says :—“Upon the murder of the tyrant Macbeth, Malcolm III. seized on the kingdom as his lawful inheritance, and earnestly applied himself to make it respectable and honourable. Then it was that those who had been ennobled for their military services assumed the titles of their respective domains ; and, that he might add a fresh splendour to his reign, he created Lords and Earls—the numerous and noble retinue which accompanied S. Margaret from Hungary and England to Scotland.”

The first Duke we had in Scotland was David, son of King Robert III., so created about the year 1397.

The first Marquisses were John, Marquis of Hamilton, and George, Marquis of Huntly, so created in one day, viz., 19th April, 1599.

The first Earl is said to have been Duncan M'Duff, made Earl of Fife about the year 1057 ; but the laws of King Malcolm II. mention Comites in his reign.

The first Viscount was Thomas, Lord Erskine, created Lord Viscount Fenton, anno 1606.

How early we had Lords or Barons, either by tenure or by writ, I find not. It is certain we had such named, *Leg. Malc. cap. 8.* But Lords by Patent we had not before the reign of Queen Mary, or of King James VI.

I now come to consider our Counties.

In France the King's officer who judged in allodial lands was called *Comes* and the district in which he judged *Comitatus*, and his depute *Vicecomes*. In England the King's officer was called *Reve* and *Schereve*, and the district *Shire*. In Saxon *Scire* (from *Scyran*, to divide) is a division; and *Sherif*, *Scirgerf*, is the *Gerif*, *Reve*, or *Officer* of a *Shyre*. Hence probably some lands of Elgin, Forres, &c., are called *Greship Lands*, because they were the salary of the *Gerif* or *Sheriff*. How early this province was divided into shires or counties, I find not. It now takes in a part of the shire of Inverness, the whole shires of Nairn and of Elgin, and a part of the shire of Banff.

The shire or county of Inverness within this Province comprehends the parishes of Inverness, Kirkhill, Kiltarlartie, Urquhart, Boleskin, Durris, Cromdale, Alvie, Rothiemurchus, Kingusie, Laggan, Ardersier, and the greatest part of Petty, Croy, Daviot, Dunlichtie, Moy, and Dalarasie, and a part of Duthel. It stands the nineteenth in the Roll of Parliament. It appears from *Reg. Maj. Lib. i. Cap. 16, 20*, that there were *Vicecomites*, or *Sheriffs*, of Inverness, in the reign of King David I.; and all the countries benorth the Forth being divided into Districts, for the more regular administration of justice, Inverness was one of the “*Loca Capitalia Scotiæ Comitatum*,

per totum regnum." The other capital places were—Scoon, Dalginsh, Perth, Forfar, and Aberdeen. Ross (including Sutherland and Caithness) and all Moray answered at Inverness. We cannot infer from the words, "Loca Capitalia Comitatum," that the counties were erected at that time, as they now are. Comitatus, as that of Randolph, Earl of Moray, comprehended several of the present counties; and *Loca Capitalia* were the towns in which the *Comites* kept their Courts. *Parl. 6, James IV., anno 1503*, it is ordained, "That the Justices and Sheriffs of the North Isles have their seat and place in Inverness or Dingwall; that Mamore and Lochaber come to the Aire or Justice-Court of Inverness. And because the Sheriffdom of Inverness is too great, that there be a Sheriff made of Ross, who shall have full jurisdiction, and shall sit at Tain or Dingwall. And that there be a Sheriff at Caithness, who shall have jurisdiction of the hail Diocess of Caithness, and shall sit at Dornock or Wick, and the shires of Ross and Caithness shall answer to the Justice Aire of Caithness."

The Sheriffship of Inverness was granted hereditably to the Earl of Huntly by the King's charter anno 1508, with a power to name deputies within the bounds of Ross, Caithness, Lochaber, and other distant parts (*Falcon Decis.*) And in 1583 the Earl of Huntly disposed to the Earl of Sutherland, the Sheriffship of Sutherland, in

exchange for the lands of Aboyne and Glen-tanir, the patrimonial estate of Adam Gordon, son to Huntly, who married the heiress of Sutherland. And the Marquis of Huntly, having resigned the Sheriffship of Inverness into the King's hands, anno 1628, there was a mutual contract between the King and the Earl of Sutherland in 1631, whereby the Earl resigned the Regality and Sheriffship of Sutherland for a sum of money, but retained possession by way of mortgage, until the money should be paid. And the King dismembered the Sheriffship of Sutherland from that of Inverness, and erected Sutherland into a separate county, comprehending the lands of Sutherland, Assint, Strathnavir, Edirdachaolis, Diurness, Strathaladale, and Ferincoscarie in Slioschaolis, and appointed Dornoch to be the head borough of the shire ; which was ratified in Parliament, anno 1633. (*MS. Gordon of Straloch.*)

K. Charles I., under pretence of the general revocation in the beginning of every reign, made an attack upon all the heritable offices and jurisdictions that had been granted posterior to the Parliament 1455. And the Marquis of Huntly resigned the Sheriffship of Inverness and Aberdeen in 1628, for a compensation of £5000 sterling. But the Shire of Ross was not divided from that of Inverness, and the bounds of it fixed, before the year 1661. (*Unprint. Acts of Parl. 1661.*)

The Legal Valuation of the Shire of Inverness now is £73,188 : 9 Scots.

The County of Nairn lies all within this Province, and comprehends the parishes of Nairn, Aldern, Calder, and Ardclach, and some parts of the parishes of Croy, Pettie, Daviot, and Moy. The lands of Ferintosh in Ross are likewise within this county, having been a part of the Thanedom of Calder. (*Ferina Toshe*, signifies the Thane's land) which, by a special privilege, was all in the county of Nairn: and on this account Culloden, as Baron of Ferintosh, votes in elections of Parliament for the County of Nairn. This county stood the twentieth in the Roll of Parliament.

At what time Nairn was erected into a distinct County, I find not. In a Charter of the Thanedom of Calder anno 1310, it is called *Thanagium de Calder infra vicecomitatum de Innernarn*. (*Pen. Cald.*). Donald, thane of Calder, as heir to his father Andrew, was infest in the office of Sheriff of the shire, and constable of the Castle of Nairn, anno 1406 (*Ibid.*). In the year 1442, Alexander de Yle, Earl of Ross, directed a Precept to the Deputy Sheriff of Inverness, his Bailiff in that part, for infesting William de Kaldor, as heir to his father Donald, in the Sheriffship of Nairn, held of him *in capite* (*Ibid.*). The Earl of Ross being forfeited in the year 1476, the Thane of Calder held the Sheriffship of the King *in capite*,

and that office continued heritably in the family of Calder till the year 1747. The Legal Valuation of the County of Nairn, is about £16,000 Scots.

The County of Moray, or of Elgin and Forres, is all within this Province, and the parishes it comprehends, in whole or in part, may be seen in the Valuation Roll. But though Easter Moy, in the parish of Dyke, pays cess in the County of Moray, it is a part of the County of Nairn, and Thanedom of Calder. The County of Moray was the thirtieth in the Roll of the Scots Parliament.

I find not, at what time, this County was erected, or how early it had Counts and Sheriffs. In a charter granted by Eva Morthac Domina de Rothes to Archibald Bishop of Moray, anno 1263, “De Gilbertus Roule miles Vicecomes de Elgyn” is a witness. Sir Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, was Hereditary Sheriff of this County; and so were his successors in the Earldom, till upon the demise of Earl James Dunbar, his son Alexander of Westfield, unjustly deprived of the Earldom, was made Hereditary Sheriff of Moray; and the office continued in his family till the year 1724, when Ludowick Dunbar of Westfield, sold it to Charles Earl of Moray for £25,000 Scots. The Earls of Moray were principal Sheriffs from that time till the year 1747.

The Legal Valuation of this Shire is about £65,603 Scots.

I do not find that any one within this Province

had an Heritable Justiciary. But Hereditary Regalities, both ecclesiastical and civil, were numerous. I shall in the *Ecclesiastic Part* consider the former, and here only the latter. Regality is a jurisdiction, which the lord thereof has in all his own lands, equal to the justiciary in criminals; for he judges in the four pleas of the Crown, and equal to the Sheriff in civil causes. Randolph Earl of Moray, had the whole Comitatus erected into a Regality in his favours, as his Charter bears. George the first Duke of Gordon had all his lands erected into a Regality, and this engrossed in his patent of Duke, anno 1684, by which his power of jurisdiction was great and extensive. Ludowick Grant of Grant got a power of Regality in all his lands, in the year 1690. The Earl of Moray claimed the office of Lord of Regality over the Citadel of Inverness. Lord Lovat was Lord of the Regality of Lovat. The Ecclesiastic Regalities of Spynie, Kinloss, Pluscarden, Urquhart, Grangehill, and Ardersier, came after the Reformation into the hands of Laics.* And even in time of Popery, noblemen and gentlemen got themselves made hereditary Bailiffs of Regality in Church lands. The family of Gordon claimed the Bailiery of the Regality of Spynie, because this office was, by King James

* King James VI. gave to the Earl of Dunfermline Chancellor, the Regality of Urquhart, which the Duke of Gordon obtained.

VI. conferred on Lord Spynie; and when that family became extinct, King Charles II. as *Ultimus Hæres*, disposed the Regality to the Earl of Airly, who conveyed it to the family of Gordon. Several such claims will be mentioned when I speak of the abolishing hereditary jurisdictions in the year 1747.

The jurisdiction of Barons or Freeholders was very ancient. By the *Leges Malcolmii*, Barons had their courts, and might judge of lith and limb; and in capital crimes they got the escheat of their vassals, except in the four pleas of the Crown. And the milites or vassals of freeholders, even subvassoles, or vassals of the milites, had their courts, but could not judge of lith and limb, but only of wrong and unlauck. If a Baron be infest *cum Curiis et Bloduitis*, he may judge of riots and blood-wits; and if he holds of the Crown *cum Furca et Fossa*, i.e., “pit and gallows,” his power is very ample. We had likewise in this country, Hereditary Constables, of whom I shall speak in the *Military History*.

Thus we have seen, that our Kings very early gave away the Crown lands, which made them dependent on their nobles: and the want of property was attended with the want of jurisdiction. They made hereditary sheriffs, chamberlains, and constables; erected hereditary regalities and usticiaries; and at last, by one Grant, made the

office of the Justiciar of Scotland hereditary in the family of Argyle. When our Kings became sensible of their error, they gradually weakened the feudal courts. King James V. instituted the Court of Session; James VI. appointed Justices of the Peace; Charles I. purchased back the Justiciary of Scotland, when the Court of Justiciary was erected. Yet there remained many hereditary jurisdictions, and too much power in the hands of great men, and chiefs of clans, which was often abused, in perverting justice, and encouraging insurrections and rebellions. This was so manifest in the Rebellion in 1745, and 1746, that the Earl of Hardwick Lord Chancellor, planned the Jurisdiction Act in 1747, which has abolished some, and limited others of such of the territorial jurisdictions as were found dangerous to the community, and made the power of judging in the general official.

It was referred to the Lords of Session by the Parliament, to consider the validity of the claims for heritable jurisdictions, and to determine the compensation that should be given to the proprietors. They rejected many claims, because:

I. Some regalities were erected since the year 1455, but not granted in Parliament, or confirmed by it, as the Act XLIII. that year requires.

II. Some jurisdictions were lost, *non utendo*, and prescription took place.

III. Some jurisdictions were found split into

parts, which the lords of them had no right to do: and,

IV. The Sheriffship of Inverness was resigned to the Crown, anno 1628, for £2,500 sterling. And it was presumed the price was paid. What the proprietors of jurisdictions within this Province asked, and what the Lords of Session judged should be given, and was actually given, in compensation, is as follows:—

	Compensation Sought.	Compensation Granted.
DUKE OF GORDON.		
For the Justiciary and Regality of Huntly,	£10,000 0 0	£4,000 0 0
For the Sheriffship of Inverness, ...	2,500 0 0	0 0 0
For the Regality of Urquhart, ...	1,000 0 0	300 0 0
For the Bailiery of the Regality of Spynie,	2,000 0 0	500 0 0
For the Bailiery of the Regality of Kinloss,	1,500 0 0	182 19 6
For the Constabulary of Inverness Castle,	300 0 0	0 0 0
EARL OF MORAY.		
For the Sheriffship of Moray, ...	8,000 0 0	3,000 0 0
For the Regality of Inverness Citadel,	1,000 0 0	0 0 0
LAIRD OF CALDER.		
For the Sheriffship of Nairn, ...	3,000 0 0	2,000 0 0
For the Constabulary thereof, ...	500 0 0	0 0 0
For the Regality of Ardersier, ...	500 0 0	0 0 0
EARL OF SUTHERLAND.		
For the Regality in Strathnaver, ...	100 0 0	0 0 0
LORD BRACO.		
For the Regality of Pluscarden, ...	1,000 0 0	68 18 5
SIR LUDOWICK GRANT.		
For the Regality of Grant, ...	5,000 0 0	900 0 0
CATBOL.		
For the Bailiery of Regality there, ...	1,000 0 0	0 0 0
LOVAT.		
For the Regality of Lovat, ...	166 4 0	0 0 0
LETHIN.		
For the Regality of Kinloss, ...	4,000 0 0	0 0 0
GRANGEHILL.		
For the Regality of Grangehill, ...	500 0 0	0 0 0
	£42,036 4 0	£10,951 17 11

The heritable jurisdictions being taken out of the hands of subjects, and being annexed to the Crown, the Courts of Judicature kept now within this Province are :—

I. The Circuit or Justiciary Court, which sits twice every year, and the judges remain six days in the town, at each Circuit.

II. The Sheriff Court. The King appoints the depute, who must be an advocate, of at least three years standing, and must reside four months in the year within his district; the depute may appoint substitutes. The Sheriff of Inverness is allowed a salary of £250; one sheriff for Moray and Nairn Counties, at £150 of salary; and the like for the Sheriff of Banff; the depute pays the salary of his substitutes. No fine, forfeiture, or penalty shall belong to the sheriff, but his share belongs to the King, and no sentence-money shall be taken. But by this the subject has no ease, for the fees allowed to clerks and other officers, by acts of sederunt, are very high.

III. The Justice of Peace Court.

IV. The Baron Court, for receiving and enrolling Barons.

V. The Court of the Commissioners of Supply, for regulating what concerns the land tax, and window tax, for ordering the highways and public roads, for granting salaries to schools, &c.

VI. The Commissary or Consistorial Court, at Elgin and Inverness: and,

VII. The Baron Court, of those who hold their land *cum curiis*. Such have no jurisdiction in any criminal causes, except small crimes, for which, the punishment shall not exceed a fine of 20s. sterling, or three hours in the stocks in the day-time, or a month's imprisonment, on not paying the fine; nor in civil causes, exceeding 40s. sterling, except in recovering rents and multures. No person shall be imprisoned without a written commitment, recorded in the Court-books. And the prison shall have such windows and gates, as that any friend may visit the prisoner, &c.

The Royal Burghs within this Province are Inverness, Elgin, Nairn, and Forres. The *Leges Malcolmi*, Cap. 4, describe the office of the Chamberlain, who had jurisdiction over the burghs. He had at that time for his salary, “ £200 yearly from the fines of the burghs, from the tolls and customs of the burghs.” In the year 1579, the Parliament appointed commissioners to determine the antiquity and priority among the burghs (Vide *unprint. Acts*); but what their determination was I know not. In the Roll of the Burghs, Inverness is the seventeenth in order, Elgin the thirty-fourth, Nairn the forty-third, and Forres the forty-fourth.

The antiquity of the Burgh of Inverness cannot be questioned, though we pay no regard to Boetius' *fabulous* story, that it was founded by King

Fergus I. What I observed from the *Regiam Majestatem* shows, that this town was considerable in the reign of King David I. Buchanan speaks of it a hundred years before that time, viz., That King Duncan was murdered in Inverness, by MacBeath anno 1039; but in this he differs from Fordun, who writes, that King Duncan was wounded at Logisnan (Forte Loggie in Brae-Moray) and was carried to Elgin, where he died. An older author than either of them writes, "Dunchath filius MacTrivi Abthani de Dunkeld et Bethoc filiae Malcolmi MacKinat, interfectus est a MacBeath MacFinleg in Bothgouanan"** (*Excerp. ex. Reg. S. And.*); but where this place lies I know not. This town has an ample Charter from King James VI. before his accession to the Crown of England, referring to charters granted by the Kings, William, Alexander II., David II., and James I., ratifying and confirming all the rights, privileges, liberties, and immunities granted by these kings to the burgh, particularly the power of constituting a sheriff in the town, who may appoint deputes, and of naming a coroner. This town being the key of the Highlands, has a great resort, and a considerable trade. It received an addition of buildings and trade, upon Cromwell's raising a

* Translation.—Duncan, son of MacTrivi, steward of Dunkeld, and of Bethoc (Beatrice ?) daughter of Malcolm MacInat, was slain in Bothgownan by MacBeth MacFinleg.

Fort there, in 1652, and keeping a numerous garrison, to awe the neighbouring Highlands; and when, in 1662, to gratify the Highland chieftains, that Fort was demolished, some of the best houses in town were built out of the materials found there.

The town is governed by a common council of twenty-one members; viz., a provost, four bailies, a treasurer, dean of guild, deacon convener, ten merchant councillors, and three deacons of trades. The sett of this town, is much the same as of the town of Elgin, afterwards described. They have a weekly market on Friday, and several public annual fairs, as at Martinmas, Candlemas, Midsummer, Marymass in August, Roodmass in September, &c., and every fair continues for three days.

Their revenues are about £300 sterling yearly, arising from feu duties, petty customs. Upon building the Bridge of Inverness, the Parliament in 1681, empowered them to receive a small toll to keep it in repair (*Vide unprint. Acts 1681*). The town is the seat of the Courts of Justice; the Justiciary, the Sheriff, the Commissary, the Justices of Peace, the Commissioners of Supply, keep their courts there. Here likewise are the Customs and Excise Offices

The arms of the burgh are:—A camel, supported by two elephants. Motto, FIDELITAS ET CONCORDIA. [Fidelity and concord.]

The Burgh of Elgin appears to have been a considerable town, with a Royal Fort, when the Danes landed in Moray, about anno 1008 (Vide *Milit. Hist.*). The earliest Charter of Guildry I have seen in favours of this burgh, was granted by King Alexander II. as follows:—" Alexander, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, To all honest men of the whole earth, Health. Know ye that we have granted, and, by this Charter, confirmed, to our Burgesses of Elgin, that they, for the improvement of our Burgh of Elgin, may possess their own merchant-guild, as freely, and in like manner, as any of our burghs in our whole kingdom possess their guild. Witnesses—Alan de Usher; Reginald of Cheyn, the chamberlain; Hugh of Abernethy; William and Bernard of the High Hill (" Monte Alto "); Alexander of Moray, and William Bisset. At Elgin, 28th day of Nov., 1236, in the 20th year of our reign."

This town was the Manor of the Comitatus, and was subject to the Earls of Moray, as constables of the King's fort. John Dunbar, Earl of Moray, by his Charter May 1st, 1390, discharged to the town for ever, the assize or quantity of ale which they were bound to pay to him, as constable of the Castle of Elgin. Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, by charter the 23rd July, 1393, granted to the town of Elgin, all the wool, cloth, and other things that go by ship out of his harbour of Spey uncustomed. And the same Earl

Thomas, by his Charter of the 22nd October, 1396, confirmed King Alexander's Charter of Guildry; and so did Earl Archibald Douglas by his Charter, of October 27th, 1451 (*Ibid.*). King Charles I. by his Charter, dated October 8th, 1633, ratified and confirmed to this burgh, the Charters granted by the Kings Alexander II., Robert I., James II., and James VI., with ample privileges, liberties, and immunities. King James VI. by Charter dated 29th February, 1620 [? 1641], resumed or narrated his Charter, of date 22nd March, 1594, to the magistrates of Elgin, of the Hospital of Maison Dieu, with the patronage thereof, and all the lands belonging to it, for sustaining the poor in the said Hospital, and sustaining a qualified master of music, and performing the ordinary services in the Church of the burgh (*Ibid.*).

The government of the burgh, will appear from the sett or rule of government, ratified by the Convention of Burghs July 8th, 1706; in the heads and articles following:—

I. The Town Council shall consist of seventeen members, including the Deacon Convener and two Deacons of Trades.

II. These two Deacons shall be chosen by the Council.

III. The New Council shall be elected annually, on Monday immediately preceding Michaelmas.

IV. The Magistrates, and other office-bearers, shall be elected on Tuesday thereafter.

V. There shall be annually put off, three of the Guildry, and two of the Trades.

VI. One Provost, four Bailies, a Treasurer, and other office-bearers shall be chosen.

VII. The Provost shall not continue in office above three years, nor the Bailies, Dean of Guild, or Treasurer above two, and they may be changed yearly.

VIII. When these are put off their offices, they shall be continued on the Council for the next year.

IX. The Old Council shall choose the New, and both the Old and New shall choose the Magistrates and office-bearers. In the week preceding, the Incorporate Trades choose their Deacons, and on Saturday three of every Trade meet, and leet three of their number, of which three the Council on Monday chooses one for Convener.

X. None may be elected but Residenters and Burgesses, who bear Scot and Lot.

XI. The Councillors shall choose annually out of their own number, five assessors to the Dean of Guild, whereof three with the Dean shall be a *quorum*.

XII. The Council shall choose fifteen persons, not of their own body, whereof two of the Trades, for Stent Masters, who shall be sworn *de fideli*, and nine make a *quorum*.

XIII. No Stent, except the public Cess, shall be imposed, without the consent of a Head Court.

XIV. On the second Tuesday of September yearly, a Head Court shall be called, and the state of the burgh, and the Magistrates management of the Common Good, shall be laid before them, and the books and accounts shall lie on the Council table for twenty days, preceding the Head Court; for the satisfaction of all concerned.

The town is the seat of the Courts of Justice, where the Sheriff, Commissary, Justices of Peace, Commissioners of Supply, and the Barons hold their public meetings and courts. They have a weekly market on Friday, and annual fairs at Fasten's Eve, Pasch, Trinity, St. James's Day, Michaelmas, and Andersmas. They have the superiority of several lands, as may be seen in the abstract of King Charles's Charter, and a servitude on the Burgh Sea in Duffus, by which the fishers there are obliged to bring their fish to market in Elgin. They have some fishing boats at Lossiemouth, and yet for want of a good harbour that might encourage trade and commerce, their revenue or common good is but small. By immemorial practice, though not by a special grant, the magistrates have a sheriffship within the town's liberties. If we may take the city of Edinburgh for a pattern, this town, in which the Cathedral of Moray stood, may be called a *City*, for King Charles I. in his Charter, erecting the See of Edinburgh, dated 29th Sept.,

1633, says:—“ We, taking into our consideration that our Burgh of Edinburgh is the chief Burgh of our Kingdom of Scotland, and that the same is most convenient to be the chief City of our lately erected Bishopric ; We, therefore, have enacted, and, in terms of this our present Charter, do enact into a City the said our Burgh of Edinburgh, and do ordain the same to be the chief and Capital City of our said Kingdom, and of theforesaid lately erected Bishopric, and we do give and grant to it all the liberties and privileges ordinarily belonging to a City.” But nothing is more uncertain than what constitutes a city—whether its being the capital of a province, or being a walled town, or being a royal burgh, or being a Bishop’s See.

The arms of the town of Elgin are—Saint Giles in a pastoral habit, holding a book in the right hand, and a pastoral staff in the left. With this motto, SIC ITUR AD ASTRA [Thus we travel to eminence].

[The City of Elgin (or *Aigin*, as it is called in the *Journal*) appears, from its being there characterized as “a good town,” to have been a place of considerable importance in the 13th century. Of its history anterior to the reign of David I. all is obscurity and conjecture. It was a King’s Burgh in his reign, as appears from the circumstances of its being referred to in his charter to the Priory of Urquhart (A.D. 1125-50), under the designation of “my burgh of Elgin” [mei burgi de Elgyn]. It must have been a place of considerable wealth at that time, as the sum of twenty shillings from its revenue and that of its waters—doubtless meaning by the latter term the fishings on the Lossie, the Spey, and the Findhorn—was ordered to be paid yearly to the monks of that Religious house for the purchase of their vestments. [Sciatis me in

perpetuum dedisse Deo et monachis de Vrchard ibi, Deo famulantibus dum devote et religiose se continuerint xx. solidos, singulis annis ad vestimenta eorum de firma, burgi mei et aquarum de Elgin.] * William the Lion conferred special favours on Elgin and his other burghs in Moray. He confirmed certain forest privileges and a commercial right, termed *ausum*, which his grandfather, David I., had granted to the burgesses, and bestowed several other immunities on them. It was, however, to Alexander II. that Elgin was most indebted for its advancement.

He did more to promote its interests than any king who every visited Moray. It was in his reign, and chiefly at his solicitation, that permission was granted by Pope Honorius III. for the translation of the Episcopal See from Spynie to Elgin; and it was by him, also, that the privileges of a merchant guild were conferred on its burgesses.

Elgin, towards the close of the 13th century, was probably unsurpassed, in regard to the number of its ecclesiastical buildings, by any Episcopal city in Scotland. At the time of Edward's visit it could boast of a Cathedral which, according to Bishop Bar, "was the mirror of the land and the glory of the kingdom." The Bishop, in his petition to the King, describes the Cathedral, which had just been burned down (A.D. 1390), as having been the "speciale patriae decus, regni gloria, et delectatio extraneorum." It had a Church dedicated to St. Giles, "Abbot and Confessor," who was the patron Saint of the town—a Monastery of Grey Friars—a preceptory of Knights Templars—a commandery of Knights Hospitallers of St. John—a house of the Brethren of St. Lazarus, and an Hospital called Maison Dieu. Elgin, besides having been a Bishop's See in the 13th century, was also a Royal burgh, enjoying corporate municipal privileges. The earliest allusion to its magistracy occurs in a charter of William the Lion (A.D. 1189-1198), but it is not till the reign of Alexander III. that its Provost is first mentioned by name. This office was held by Thomas Wiseman in 1261. The same individual was Sheriff of Elgin in 1248; and it is not improbable, therefore, that both appointments were united in him in the latter year. It is certain, how-

* This charter is dated at Banff [apud Bancf]. (See *Registrum de Dunfermlyn*, p. 18, and *Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. ii., p. 129.)

ever, that they were distinct offices at a later period, as in the same Instrument in which the name of Wysman appears as Provost, Alexander de Montfort is mentioned as Sheriff of Elgin. Macpherson, who quotes Rymer's MSS. as his authority, states that Elgin had one or more bailies in 1296. The number of these functionaries was probably two, the same as existed in 1345, when the magistracy consisted of Walter, the son of Ralph, then provost, and William Ydil, and William Vitrearius (the glazier), then bailies.

We find the same number mentioned in 1368, when Patrick de Creython and Henry, the son of Robert, held this office. The town had four Ports, and the presumption therefore is, that it was originally surrounded by some defensive work—probably by a palisade, such as William the Lion required the inhabitants of Inverness to erect when he entrenched that town with a fosse. The East Port [*porta orientalis*] is mentioned as early as the year 1242. It stood near the Bede House. The West Port was situated at West Park; the South, or Smithy Port, as it was called, at the south end of the lane, now named the School Wynd; and the North Port at the middle of the Lossie Wynd. At these gates the Chamberlain's officers—designated *custumarii* in public documents of this period—collected the tolls which, like the octroi duties in Continental towns at the present day, were levied on such articles as were brought into the markets for sale. In connection with this revenue may be noticed the Tolbooth [*Tolbotha*]. The Tolbooth of South Berwick is mentioned under this name in a Deed of sale in 1258-98 (*vide Reg. Ep. Morav*, p. 143), which derived its name from its having been the *booth* where goods were weighed in order to ascertain the amount of *toll* leivable on them. It thus also became the place where defaulters, persons guilty of infringing the laws of the burgh, and debtors were confined, and was probably at this time only used for offenders of this class, whilst those accused of felony or crimes falling under the cognisance of the Sheriff were imprisoned in the castle. It stood on the site now occupied by the public fountain, and was literally a booth or bothie, having been a wooden and thatched building down to about 1605, as appears from the following entry in the town's records of that

period :—"Item, £3 6s. 8d. for fog to theck the Tolbooth." Next to the Cross and the Tolbooth the Ports formed the principal public places of the town, and were the sites whereon the limbs of criminals after execution were not unfrequently exposed to view. This practice was continued down to as late a period as the year 1713, when we find it stated that the head of a man, who had been executed for murder, was placed on the Tolbooth, and one of his arms on the East Port and the other on the West Port, in completion of the sentence which had been passed on him. The houses of Elgin, as was the case at this time in all the towns both of England and Scotland, were chiefly built of wood, and comprised several grades of dwellings. These are referred to in different Deeds in the Register of Moray by the terms "mansions," "edifices," "huts" [habitacula], and "booths or bothies" [bothae]. We find that from an early period several of the barons and clergy in the neighbourhood, as well as some of the officers of State, possessed burgage property in Elgin. Tofts of land in the town were granted by Malcolm IV. and William the Lion to Berewald the Fleming, Lord of Innes, Richard, Bishop of Moray, the Abbot of Kinloss, the King's Chamberlain, and the King's Justiciar, and were probably the sites of mansions belonging to these nobles and dignitaries. Most of the houses were erected with their gables fronting the street. This style of building, which formerly prevailed in the northern towns, and especially in Kirkwall and Lerwick, is of Scandinavian origin, and is still common in Norway. The single Street referred to as the Common Street [strata communis]—now the High Street—of which Elgin consisted in the 13th century, extended from the East to the West Port, and had near its centre the Church of St. Giles, surrounded by a Cemetery, and in its vicinity a Market Place, in which stood a wooden Cross.

The Church of St. Giles is first mentioned in the Register of Moray in 1226, but there is reason to believe that it was of more ancient origin than the Cathedral, founded only two years previously, and that it is the Church referred to in a Charter of William the Lion between 1189-99. It is probable that the Cemetery around it was, in accordance with the practice which prevailed in the 13th century, the site of the Fairs of St. Giles, mentioned

in 1389, and that it originally constituted the Market Place [forum] alluded to in 1365. In its vicinity there were booths or bothies which, like the Luckenbooths that stood near the Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, were probably the shops of the town. They were apparently permanent wooden structures, where, doubtless, the free burgesses of the merchant guild exposed their merchandise for sale. This Company, which was a corporate body, having all the commercial privileges that similar Incorporations in other Royal burghs possessed, had been established by charter by Alexander II. in 1384, and appears to have superseded the more ancient burghal association, which enjoyed the right or immunity termed *ausum*, which had been granted by David I., and confirmed by William the Lion, to the burghs north of Aberdeen. Several of the members of the merchant guild of Elgin appear to have been men of considerable property and influence in the 13th and 14th centuries. The first burgess whose name is recorded is Robert Niger [Black], who appears as a Witness to an Agreement between the Bishop of Moray and Freskinus de Moravia in 1248. Hugh Heroc, burgess, was a member of the Court of Inquest which sat to adjudicate the claim of Robert Spine to the King's garden. He bequeathed his estate of Daldeleyt, in 1286, to found two chaplaincies in the Cathedral and Church of St. Giles. William, the son of Adam, the son of Stephen, burgess, possessed, in 1309, the lands of Qwytford, Inverlothy [Inverlochtie], the mill at that place, and the lands of Milton. And Richard, the son of John, burgess, gave 100 shillings, payable yearly, from the rents of six booths and twenty crofts on the south side of the town, to found a chaplaincy in the Church of St. Giles. Several of the burgesses appear from their names to have been connected with other places, as William of Strabrock, Vosualdus of Aberchirder, Roger of Stirling, Adam of Berwick, son of William of Berwick. Of the trades or mechanical arts carried on in Elgin at this time, the only knowledge we possess is derived from the Register of Moray, wherein allusions are made to Osbert and Henry, the smiths or armourers; Richard, William, and Thomas, the glaziers [vitrearii]; Brice, the tailor [cissor]; James, the shoemaker [sutor]; and John, the fuller [fullonis]; Gregory, the builder [cementarius],

is mentioned in 1287. Carpenters were sent by the Sheriff of Elgin in 1262 to Caithness to erect a new hall and wardrobe-room for Alexander III. William, the gardener [Willielmus ortulanus], is mentioned as early as the year 1242. Gardens appear to have been common in the town even at this early period. The King's garden has been already alluded to. From an inquiry instituted in 1390 in regard to the respective rights of the Bishop and the Vicar of St. Giles to the tithes leivable on the gardens of Elgin, a distinction was drawn between the ancient and modern gardens—the boundary line of which was the original fence [*claustura*]—most probably the palisade of the town, which inclosed the former. Allusion is made in 1363 to a road behind the gardens [*gardinas*], on the south side of the town—apparently the present Greyfriars' and South Streets—beyond which were situated the crofts described as extending down to the peat moss [*ad maresiam petarum*]; now the low flat land called the "Wards," between the foot of Moss Street and New Elgin. Behind the gardens on the north side were also crofts, and the field styled the *prepositura* of the castle, or what now constitutes the Borough Bridge lands. It seems doubtful whether the Lossie ran at this time, as is generally supposed, between these lands and the foot of the gardens. The latter opinion is founded on the fact of these lands being included in the parish of New Spynie,* the boundary of which in this quarter is said to have formerly been that river. But at what period this was the case is not stated.

It was certainly not in 1570, for in that year the Borough Bridge lands are mentioned as situated on the south side of the Lossie [*pecia terre vocata Burrowbriggis ex australi parte de Lossin*]. And going farther back, viz., to the year 1350, we find mention made of certain crofts, and eight acres of the *prepositura* of Elgin adjoining them, as extending down to the Lossie, which seems to imply that this river was at some distance from the gardens. Close to the burgh, at its eastern extremity, was the "Chanonry" or College, comprising an area of

* *New Statistical Account of Elginshire*, p. 95, where it is stated "the Lossie anciently ran close by the town, as appears from the title-deeds of the properties in the adjoining quarters of the town."

900 yards in circumference, in which were situated the Cathedral and the manses of twenty-two prebendaries. It was bounded partly by the Lossie and partly by a wall having four gateways, one of which, called the "Pans Port," still remains. The ground between this wall on the west and the site of the Little Cross (erected in 1402) belonged to the Bishop and Chapter. In 1360 a portion of it, having a frontage of three and a half rods in extent, was given for the sites of four chaplains' manses.

It is described as being then held by the brethren of St. Lazarus, near the walls of Jerusalem [tentam de fratribus Sancti Lazari juxta mures Jerusalem], and, doubtless, from these religionists Lazarus Wynd took its name. The land now called the Pans, a name which, under the form of "le Pannis," first appears in the Register of Moray in 1566, was originally styled the "Burchalch" [Burgh Haugh?], and was so designated in 1224, when it was divided into crofts and assigned as glebes to the Canons of the Cathedral. There were two bridges on the Lossie, one at a place called Sankathell across to Cranfinleth, the situation of which is not stated, and the other named the Bishop's Bridge. The latter, no doubt, was situated at Bishopmill, which is referred to in 1363 by the name of Bishoptung [Bishop-town], and below which, it is mentioned, lay the "prepositura" or Borough Bridge lands. The mills on the Lossie in the vicinity of the town were the King's mills —now called Old Mills—which Alexander II. gave to the Monks of Pluscarden; the Bishop's Mill, the site of which was granted by William the Lion to Richard, Bishop of Moray, and which is described as being above the cruives on the Lossie [supra crohas quæ sunt super Loseyn] below his Castle of Elgin; and the Mill of Vchterspynie, which was erected on land granted by Bishop Andrew de Moravia to his kinsman, Walter de Moravia of Duffus, in 1237, on the condition of the latter giving yearly a reddendo of a pound of pepper, and the same quantity of cumin seed. It became the Sheriff's Mill (a name which it still retains) most probably in the time of Sir Reginald le Chen, but, at all events, before 1309, in which year it is noticed as "molendinum Vicecomitis de Elgin, super aquam de Lossyn."] (*Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis.*) Vide Taylor's *Edward I. in the North of Scotland*. (ED.)

The Burgh of Nairn is of considerable antiquity. We find it mentioned as early as the year 1008. And as long as it had a good harbour, and the King's Constable residing in the Castle of it, no doubt it flourished and made a good figure; now the want of trade has brought it much into decay. The constitution of the town is much the same with that of Elgin, except that gentlemen in the country are admitted upon the Common Council, because the town cannot afford the necessary annual charges. It has a weekly Market and some annual Fairs, and the Courts of Justice for that county sit there. The common good is but small. The inhabitants are about 600.

The arms of the Town are—Saint Ninian in a proper habit, in his right hand a cross fitchie, in the left a book open.

[The Report of the Commissioners on the Municipal Corporations states that Nairn appears to have been founded by William the Lion. The name was originally *Invernaire*. The burgh and lands were granted by Robert I. to his brother-in-law, Hugh, Earl of Ross, and they probably continued in the possession of that family till the forfeiture of John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, in 1475. At that period the tenure of the lands in Nairnshire, which had been formerly held under the Earls of Ross, was changed to a Crown-holding; and a similar change very probably took place with regard to the town of Nairn, which then begins to be styled in records *the King's Burgh* and *the Royal Burgh of Nairn*, unless it may be thought that the terms of Robert I.'s grant of the Earldom of Moray to Thomas Ranulph (which cannot be easily reconciled with the Earl of Ross' charter) are sufficient to prove that Nairn, as well as Elgin and Forres, was then of the rank of a Royal Burgh.

Nairn gave the title of *Baron* to the family of Nairn. The Peerage was created in 1681 by Charles II., attained

in 1746, and restored in 1824. It has been dormant since the death of William, sixth Lord, in 1837. It is said to be represented by the Baroness Keith of Banheath, Stonehaven.—*Marischal.*] (ED.)

The earliest mention I have found of the Burgh of Forres is, “Dovenaldus filius Constantin occisus est in oppido Fothir anno 904.”* (*Chron. de Regibus Scotiae*). *Fothir* is supposed to be Forres, and King Duffus was murdered in Forres about anno 966. How early this town was erected into a Royal Burgh I find not. A Charter of “De novo damus,” by King James IV., dated June 23rd, 1496, bears, That the ancient Charters granted to this Burgh had been destroyed by fire and other accidents, and therefore the King erects it of new into a free Burgh, with all the privileges of a Royal Burgh.† The constitution of this Burgh

* *Translation*.—Donald, son of Constantine, was slain in the town of Fothir in the year 904.

† The Charter of the town of Forres grants to Kinloss—“Aquam et Piscaturam de Findhorn, tam in aqua dulci quam salsa.” This right is to be understood as follows:—1st. The fishing of the Sluie-pool pertains to the Earl of Moray, and he claims and possesses this fishing from that Pool down the river as far as the Forest of Tarnua extends. 2nd. By King James I. Charter, anno 1425, the whole fishing of Findhorn was granted to the Monks and Abbot of Kinloss; and King Robert’s Charter to them, *anno Regni 4to*, of the whole fishing of the river was confirmed (*Pen. Lethen.*). 3rd. By Charter, December 2nd, 1505, the whole fishing, except the Sluie-pool, was granted to the Abbot (*Ibid.*). 4th. By contract betwixt Thomas, Abbot of Kinloss, with the Convent and the town of Forres, Alexander Urquhart of Burdsyards, and William Wiseman, of date Feb. 15th, 1505-6, the town, Burdsyards, and Wiseman, renounced all title to the fishing of the river. (It is probable the town obtained this Charter anno 1496, unknown to, and to the prejudice of the Abbot.) And the Abbot and Convent did sett

is much the same with that of Elgin. The only sett they have is the following indistinct one:—
“At Forres, 20th September, 1711, in presence of the Town Council of the Burgh, a letter being read, directed by the Agent of the Burroughs to the Magistrates of the said Burgh, anent their making a true account and return to their Agent of their sett in electing yearly. In obedience to which the said Magistrates declare, That the number of their Council exceeds not seventeen, Provost, Bailies, Dean of Guild, and Treasurer included; and that at ilk election the old Council chooses the new, and are changed yearly as occasion offers; and to that effect timeous premonition is made to the whole burgesses, heritors, and inhabitants of the day prefixed for election of the said Magistrates and Town Council by tuck of drum, and placarding on the Cross, and by other advertisements used and wont; and

heretably, and in feu-farm to the foresaids, the fishing on the fresh water from the Sluie-pool to the entering of the burn of Masset into the sea (*Ibid.*). 5th. The Lord of Kinloss and Earl of Elgin came in the room and right of the Abbot and Convent, to whom the whole fishing from the Sluie-pool downward, both in fresh and salt water, did originally belong. And by Charter of date February 26th, 1664, under the Great Seal (Thomas, Earl of Elgin having resigned), Alexander Brodie of Lethen acquired a right to all the fishing that had belonged to the said Earl and Abbot (*Ibid.*). And now, 6th, the town of Forres holds of Lethen; Tanachie and Durn hold of Forres; the Earl of Moray and Burdsyards hold of the Crown; and the estate of Grangehill, purchased in 1749 by Sir Alexander Grant of Dalvey. The fishing upon that estate lay partly in the Priory lands of Pluscarden, and partly in the Abbey lands of Kinloss. (ED.)

that the new Council chooses the Magistrates, and puts off, and takes on, or continues them as the circumstances of the place need and require. And this our sett has been unaltered for many years ; and ordains our Clerk of Court to send an extract hereof to the Agent of the Burroughs. Signed in our name, and by our order, by Robert Tulloch, our Common Clerk; *sic. subscrib.* Robert Tulloch, Clerk.” *

This sett leaves room to admit gentlemen in the county upon the Council, which accordingly is the practice.

The town has a Jurisdiction of Sheriffship by their Charter, a weekly market and several annual fairs. Their revenue is about £1,000 Scots. The number of inhabitants is about 900.

The Town’s arms are—Saint Laurence in a long habit, standing on a brander ; a chaplet round his head ; at his right side a crescent ; and at the left a star of six points ; holding in his right hand a book. Motto—JEHOVAH TU MIHI DEUS, QUID DEEST. [Jehovah, Thou art my God ; what is wanting ?]

* CHARTER TO THE BURGH OF FORRES.

[“James, understanding that the ancient Charters granted to the town of Forres have been destroyed in time of war, or by the violence of fire, we have of new granted and confirmed to the community of the said Burgh of Forres, in free burgage, with the lands and others formerly thereto belonging—particularly the lands called Griveship, Bailie lands, Meikle Bog, with the King’s Meadow ; Lobbranstown, with Crealties and Ramflat ; and common pasture in the Forest of Drummondside and Tulloch, with mosses, moors ; the water and fishing of Findhorn, from Dunduff to the bank of Findhorn, both in fresh and in salt water, with muscles and muscle scaups, with power to set the same in tack, to fish with boats and nets, and to have ports and harbours for ships upon the said water ; with power annually to elect and appoint a Provost, Bailies, and other

Every one of these Burghs has a Post-Office, and a regular return of Posts three times in the week. And since the union of the two kingdoms, Forres, Nairn, Inverness, and Chanonrie in Ross make a district; and Elgin, Cullen, Banff, Inverurie, and Kintore make another. Each district sends a member to the British Parliament. And each of the counties of Banff, Elgin, and Inverness, chooses a Commissioner; but the county of Nairn being small, chooses only alternately with the county of Cromarty.

Besides these Royal Burghs, there are in this Province several Burghs of Barony. These are erected by Royal Patents or Charters. What their privileges and immunities are will appear from the following instances:—Germach was erected into a Burgh of Barony by a patent anno 1587; the Kirkton of Spynie, an Ecclesiastic Barony, anno 1452; the town of Findhorn made a Barony, and the erection ratified in Parliament,

Magistrates and officers necessary; and to constitute the Provost, Bailies, and Sheriffs within the Burgh and its liberties, and discharge the Sheriff of the shire of Elgin and Forres to exercise his office within the said Burgh or its liberties; with power to the Burgh to have a Cross, a weekly Market on Friday, and an annual Fair, beginning on the Vigils of St. Lawrence and to continue for eight days; with power, also, to hold Burgh and Sheriff Courts, and of packing, peeling, and with all and sundry other privileges and immunities of a free Burgh, paying yearly to the Abbot and Convent of Kinloss 20 merks current money out of the farm of the said water and the fishing.—At Edinburgh, June 23, 1496, and of our reign the ninth year."] (ED.)

1661 ; (Vide *Unprint. Acts*) the town of Geddes, in the parish of Nairn, was erected into a Burgh of Barony by Charter anno 1600 ; “cum potestate creandi Balivos et Burgenses, et vendendi et vinum et cervisiam, et mercemonia quæcunque” ;* with a weekly market, &c. (*Hist. Kilrav.*).

By a Charter anno 1635, in favour of John Grant of Loggie, Moyness, Broadland, and Aldern, were erected into the Barony of Moyness, with a weekly market on Saturday and an annual fair at Michaelmas (*Pen. Calder*). By Charter anno 1476, the Thanedom of Calder, Barony of Duris, &c., were erected into one Barony, called Campbelltoun, with power to create Bailives, Constables, Serjeants, and other Officers therein, with liberty to buy and sell within the freedoms thereof, and to have a Town House and a Market Cross, with a weekly Market on Wednesday and an annual Fair on July 15th, the Castle of Calder being the principal messuage at which infestments and seasins may be taken, &c. (*Ibid.*). The town of Fochaber, the Kirkton of Duffus, Blackstob in Muirtoun, the town of Cromdale in Strathspey, and no doubt other villages within this Province, were Burghs of Barony.

* Translation.—With the power of making Bailies and Burgesses, and of selling both wine and ale, and all manner of merchandise whatever.

PART V.

THE MILITARY HISTORY OF MORAY.

IT does not appear that the Romans had any military exploits within this Province, nor have they left any monument of such actions. Though Severus forced a march into the northmost bounds of Scotland, yet he fought no battle, but lost 50,000 of his army, in struggling with cold, hunger, and fatigue (*Xiphil. in Sev.*); and Agricola's ships which sailed round the north, and first discovered Britain to be an Island, gave names to people and places, but left no military monuments. As little can I find any certain account of the military actions of the Picts in this country; their battles and skirmishes, whether with the Scots or the Saxons, were in the southern Provinces. But since the overthrow of the Pictish Kingdom, we have traces of some memorable battles and conflicts, of which I shall give the most genuine account I could learn.

The character which Tacitus gives of the German *Catti*, may, I doubt not, be applied to the ancient inhabitants of this Province, particularly to the Highlanders, viz.:—“This race possessed

a sturdy frame of body, limbs well knit, stern countenances, and a great degree of courage. You could not so easily persuade them to till their lands, and observe the respective seasons of the year, as you might bring them to face their enemies, and give and take the most deadly wounds. For they even held it slothful and cowardly to acquire, by the sweat of their brows, what they could possess by the shedding of their blood."

The great men and chiefs of clans in Scotland, for many ages, lived independent of the Kings ; they held their land by no other tenure than a forcible possession. In the year 1590, there was brought to the Exchequer, an account of 250,000 merks yearly rent (a large sum in these days), to which the chieftains in the Western Isles had no other right but *Duchus* or possession.

The few Royal Forts through the kingdom, were not sufficient to awe the country and maintain peace ; and our Kings were necessitated to grant large powers, and extensive jurisdictions to great men, with liberty to build fortalices on their own lands, and to garrison them for the maintaining peace and order. By this, the power of the Crown was weakened, and the nobles and chieftains became factious and ungovernable ; and insurrections, tumults, and riots were frequent in every corner.

The Royal Forts in this Province were :—

A Fort at Elgin. This Fort stood on a small hill, now called the Ladyhill, at the west end of the town, on the north side. The plain area on the top of the hill, is 85 yards in length, and 45 in breadth. There are some remains of the walls of this fort yet standing, but such as do not shew the form or extent of the buildings. Generally these forts were a square, or an oblong square; the walls about 20 feet high, and 4 feet thick, with towers in the angles, all wrought with run lime. Within the walls, were rooms and barracks of wood; the gate or entrance was guarded by an iron grate, and a portcullis; and some forts had parapets on the top of the wall. Within the court there was a draw well, and the whole fort was environed with a fosse, over which was a draw bridge. Vestiges of all these things are to be seen at this fort at Elgin. The strength of such forts were considerable before great guns came into use. The Randolphs, Dunbars, and Douglas Earls of Moray, were Constables of this fort, and had the customs of the town, the assize of ale, and probably the sixty-auchten parts and the moss wards, now belonging to the town, for their salary. They had a jurisdiction within certain bounds round the fort, and judged in riots and trespasses committed within these bounds; I am not certain, if after the death of Archibald Douglas anno 1455, any Earl acted as Constable of this fort. But the

Castlehill, or Ladyhill, has always been the property of the Earls of Moray, and is so of the present Earl.

THE CASTLE OF ELGIN.

[All that now remains of “the good castell” [bon chastell] mentioned in the Journal, is the ruin, consisting of fragments of massive walls, on Ladyhill. Although history is silent in regard to the origin of this stronghold, yet it is certain, from the circumstance of Elgin being mentioned as a King’s burgh in the reign of David I., that this place was then the seat of a Royal Castle, and it seems probable, therefore, that the heavy structure, the vestiges of which still remain, was built by that king on the site, perhaps, of a less durable wooden edifice of Celtic or Scandinavian origin. Mention is first made of the Castle of Elgin in the Charter of Malcolm IV., the grandson and successor of David I., granting the lands of Innes to Berowald the Fleming [A.D. 1160]:—the condition of the tenure being the service of one soldier, or rather of one knight [“unius militis”] “in my Castle of Elgin” [“in castello meo de Elgin”]. It is again referred to, and its site indicated, in a charter granted by William the Lion—the brother and successor of William—to Richard, Bishop of Moray, giving him permission to erect a mill [Bishop-mill] on the Lossie, below the Castle of Elgin [subtus castellum meum de Elgin”]. (*Reg. Epis. Morav.*)

William occasionally held his Court here, as appears from the circumstances of his having granted at Elgin several charters which were witnessed by his Chancellor, Justiciar, and various bishops, earls, and barons. Elgin appears to have been a favourite residence of Alexander II., who probably visited it to enjoy the sport of hunting in the neighbouring Royal forests. He was here in the years 1221, 1225, 1226, 1228, and 1234. According to Wyntoun, he also held his Christmas here in 1231:—

“A thousand twa hundyr and thretty gane,
And to that yhit reckyne ane,
The King Alagsandre in Elgyne
Held his yhule and come oure syne
The Munthis, passand til Mwnros.”

The same author in noticing an expeditious journey which this King made from Elgin to the south of Scotland in 1242, mentions that he visited Moray yearly:—

“The King and the Qwene als,
And ane honest curt wyth tha
That ilke yhere in Murrawe past,
Bot soon agayne he sped hym fast,
Swa aftyre that he came fra Elgyne.”

Alexander III. appears to have sojourned for some time in Elgin in 1263; on which occasion the Sheriff, Alexander de Montfort, disbursed the sum of £15 10s. 2d. from the revenues of his sheriffdom, to defray the expenses of the Royal journey to and from Caithness. That the Castle of Elgin was then, and had been for many years previously, a Royal residence, is proved by the fact that in 1261, during the reign of the latter King, Robert Spine, *balistarius* (the keeper of the cross bows), succeeded in proving, before a competent tribunal, his right of tenure to the King's garden and the land pertaining to it, which, he asserted, had belonged to the ancestors of his wife, on the condition of their supplying the Royal kitchen with pot-herbs during the time that the King resided in the Castle of Elgin; and of taking charge of the Royal gervfalcons and goshawks, for which service they had a chalder of meal yearly, besides a daily allowance of two-pence for feeding each gervfalcon, and a penny for each goshawk, while the King engaged in the sport of hawking. The Sheriff (vicecomes) as the deputy of the earl (comes) was the keeper (custos) of this Castle, which was the chief seat of the King's authority within the county of Elgin, and doubtless the place where was deposited the banner of Moray. This standard was unfurled by the Earl, or Guardian of the Province, when the King required the barons, thanes, and others holding of the Crown within the Sheriffdom, to perform military duty, constituting either the servitium forinsecum or servitium Scoticum—on one or other of which tenures they usually held their lands. Among those permanently resident in the Castle may be mentioned the officer who had charge of the cross bows, balistae, catapults, and other warlike weapons and engines used for its defence, and the janitor or warder of its gates. The duties of the garrison were performed by the barons and thanes who-

held their lands on the condition of their rendering military service within its walls. Such was the tenure by which Berowald the Fleming possessed his lands of Innes; and Eugenius, those of Meft. A certain extent of land, called the *prepositura*, was annexed to the Castle [prepositura castelli burgi de Elgin]. It is referred to in a charter of the year 1351, as situated in the north side of the town; and it was probably, therefore, the Borough Bridge lands. The duty of the keeper of the castle in cases of disputes occurring in the town, was strictly defined, as appears from an ancient Enactment regarding royal castles and burghs, to the following effect:—viz., “Should any person belonging to the castle have committed a trespass against a burgess, the latter was obliged to crave justice at the castle, outside the ports thereof;” whilst, in like manner any castellan who might have cause of complaint against a burgess, had to apply for redress within the burgh. The only occasions on which a royal castellan had a right to exercise authority in the burgh connected with his castle, were Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday, when he could compel a burgess to sell such provisions as pigs, geese, and poultry, for silver, for the King’s use. These festivals were kept with great pomp by the Scottish Kings; and, doubtless (as was the practice at the Anglo-Norman Courts), the prelates, earls, and barons of the kingdom were obliged by their tenures, as we are informed, to attend their Sovereign, to assist in the celebration of these festivals, in the administration of justice, and in deliberating on the great affairs of the realm. “On these occasions” we are further told “the King wore his crown, and feasted his nobles in the great hall of the palace, after which they proceeded to business, which consisted partly in determining important causes, and partly in deliberating on public affairs.” (*Henry’s Great Britain*, vol. vi., p. 13.)

The Castle of Elgin occupied a space extending about 240 feet in length, and 150 feet in breadth, on the summit of the Lady Hill. It was enclosed by a wall—the remains of which still exist on the south side—which, doubtless, like similar structures at this period, was of considerable height, having towers at its angles and a crenellated parapet with merlons or spaces between the embrasures, perforated with chinks terminating in *eyelets* for the dis-

charge of arrows, javelins, and other missiles. The principal gate appears to have stood on the west side of the hill, where the ascent is comparatively easy; and judging from the construction of similar portals in the 13th century, it was probably flanked by a round tower on each side, and further strengthened by a machicolation and portcullis.

From the fact of an allusion being made in 1654 to *the East Port of the Castlehill* being situated near the point where the road leading down to the Morrieston ford at the Black Friars Haugh, strikes off from the road which skirts the foot of the hill on its northern side from east to west, it may be inferred that there was another gate, called *the West Port*, on the opposite side of the hill—most probably at the top of Lady Lane—and that the hill at its base, including a good deal of ground, which is now built upon, next the High Street, was surrounded by some defensive work, consisting likely of a palisade, such as was erected round the Castle of Inverness in A.D 1263-66.

The level space within the wall which encircled the summit of the hill, was divided into two courts by a transverse wall—the site of the foundation of which is still indicated by a furrow or trench, which runs obliquely across the plateau in the direction of north-east to south-west. The outer *ballium** comprehended all the space situated west of the transverse wall and was entered through the principal gateway; and from the numerous traces of foundations still to be seen, it would appear to have been crowded with buildings, consisting, no doubt, of barracks and storehouses, which, there is reason to believe, from the tenor of a writ issued by Edward, were, at this time, well stocked with armour and provisions. The inner ballium comprised the area on the east side of the division wall, and contained within it the keep and

* This word, of which bayle and Bailey are Anglicised corruptions, is said to be derived from the Latin *ballium*. The term *Bailey* is still retained in the names of certain anciently fortified localities in England, as the Old Bailey of London, which is so designated from its position in relation to the ancient wall of the city and the Church of St. Peter, in the Bailey of Oxford, so called from its having been originally situated in the outer *ballium* of the Castle of Oxford.

other buildings. The keep, a square tower, the remains of which are still seen—was built of rough, unhewn stones, cemented or grouted with run lime. The portions of its walls still remaining are of great thickness and solidity, and show how well adapted they were in an age when gunpowder was unknown, to resist all the battering machines and stone propelling engines which the engineering skill of those days employed to reduce fortresses. Like similar strongholds in the 12th and 13th centuries, this structure was probably three or four storeys in height. The lower storey in these buildings was a subterranean and dimly lighted vault, which constituted the donjon or *oubliette* of the keep. Above this was the floor which was occupied by the domestics of the establishment, and which, from its having the outer door of the building opening in to it, formed a kind of vestibule, which communicated by a newel stair in the interior or substance of the wall, with the upper storeys. In the Castle of Elgin this staircase appears to have been situated in the south-east angle of the keep, where the walls present a much broader base than at the other corners. The second and third storeys contained a hall, one or more sleeping apartments, and an armoury of such weapons and engines as were required for the defence of the building. The Castle of Elgin had apparently a round tower on the site of the large circular hollow which exists in the immediate vicinity of the ruin. The Well of the castle which tradition has long assigned to this spot, was probably situated within this tower, and a windlass [Windagium]* used for drawing up the water from the bottom of the shaft, which must have descended to a great depth, even to the base of the hill.† A sketch of this building is given by Slezer, in his view of Elgin, forming one of the engravings in the “Theatrum Scotiæ” published in 1693.‡] (Vide Taylor’s *Edward I. in the North of Scotland.*)

* Chamberlain’s Accounts (A.D. 1264), vol. i., pp. 19, 20.

† A good specimen of an ancient Well of this description is afforded by that of Cari-brooke Castle, Isle of Wight, where the water is drawn from a great depth by a windlass and wheel, worked by an ass.

‡ Slezer was a German, a captain in the artillery company

An allusion is made to the Chapel of the Castle of Elgin in a Deed of Isabella, Countess of Moray, the widow of the great Randolph, granting certain lands for the endowment of a Chaplaincy at Elgin, in the year 1351. One of the places therein mentioned where a stated religious service was enjoined to be performed, is "the altar of John the Baptist, in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the castle." This Chapel continued to be a place of worship, long after the castle itself had been abandoned as a residence; and from it, the locality appears to have derived its present name of Ladyhill. Its original appellation, however, of Castlehill was not unfrequently given to it, as late as the 17th century. Thus, in a sasine of the burgh, dated in 1654, mention is made of the road which passes from "the East Port of the said Castlehill to the Chapel of the Virgin Mary in the north." The barons who held lands on the condition of their rendering service to the castle, had houses within its precincts.

Eugenius, thane of Rathven, and lord of Meft, states, in a petition which he presented to Alexander III. in 1262, that his great-grandfather—Yothre Mac Gilhys—received from King William, a grant of that barony, with his house in the Castle of Elgin. It is probable that there were in the inner ballium of the castle, besides the keep and the round tower, several wooden buildings, comprising a hall, a wardrobe room, and a Royal chamber. Such structures were common in the Royal, as well as in most of the baronial castles in the north, in the 13th century. Thus mention is made of a new hall, with a roof formed of a double tier of planks, and the walls also consisting of wood, having been erected in Caithness, for the accommodation of Alexander III., when he visited that country, in 1263. On the same occasion, a wardrobe room, with a double wooden roof, was built in the Castle of Inverness; and a new hall, which (as it only cost 48 shillings) must also have been constructed of wood, was erected in that year in the Castle of Invery. In a hall of this description "the framework" says Tytler, "composed of strong beams of oak, was covered with a planking of fir, and this again laid over with plaster, which was adorned with painting

and the "Surveyor of their Majesties' stores and magazines in the kingdom of Scotland."

and gilding, whilst the large oak pillars supporting the building rested in an embedment of strong mason work." The walls, when not ornamented in this manner, were generally adorned with tapestry. An oaken table, supported on massive pedestals, occupied the centre of the floor, and a chair of state stood upon the dais at the upper end of the apartment. Such in all probability was the structure of the hall of the Castle of Elgin, and such, most likely, the manner in which it was fitted up, when Edward visited Moray in 1296.

The Fort at Forres was pleasantly situated on an eminence, at the west end of the town, and was fortified as that of Elgin. It was in this fort that King Duffus was barbarously murdered, anno 965 or 966. Donald, grand-uncle of Bancho thane of Lochaber, and ancestor of the Family of Stewart (*Mr. Sims.*) was governor of the fort, and much trusted when the King came to Forres, in order to punish some villains. The King was a strict Justiciar, and would not grant a remission to some criminals, for whom Donald and his wife had warmly solicited; wherefore they caused strangle him in his bed, and hid his corpse under a bridge near Kinloss. Donald, conscious of his guilt, fled from Cullen, successor to Duffus; but his wife being put to the torture, confessed the whole scene. Donald was seized, and with his accomplices justly put to death, and the fort was razed (*Ford. Buch.*). I know not if this fort was rebuilt, and used as a Royal Fort; but it is certain, there was a Castle where it had stood, of which the Dunbars of Westfield had the property,

with the castle lands; but I do not find that they acted as constables.

CASTLE OF FORRES.

[The Castle of Forres is referred to as early as the year 966, when King Duffus was murdered in it. Like the Castle of Elgin, it was probably originally a wooden structure; but its keep and walls were no doubt strengthened, if not rebuilt, in the reign of David I., when the town, which it protected, is first mentioned as a King's burgh.

It was then surrounded by a forest, in which the burgesses had the privilege of wood-bote granted to them by that monarch. Its Castle was a Royal residence, and was visited by William the Lion, and Alexander II., who dated charters here—the former King in 1189-98, and the latter in 1238. Its prepositura which is referred to in a charter of the year 1238, was probably the land called "the Bailie lands" or "the King's meadow," in the charter of James IV. A few items of expenditure in connection with this Castle are mentioned in the Chamberlain's Accounts in the reign of Alexander III.

In 1264, William Wiseman, Sheriff of Forres, disbursed the sum of ten pounds for building a new tower beyond the King's chamber; ten shillings for the carriage of ten hogsheads of wine from the shore [at the mouth of the Findhorn] to the castle; and sixteen shillings and tenpence as the wages of two hawk-catchers for fourteen weeks, and for the repair of a mew belonging to the King. Of the stock of wine thus laid in for the King's table, two hogsheads are mentioned as having been sold for one hundred and three shillings and sevenpence. The Castle appears to have been used as a residence both by the King and the Earl of Moray, in the 14th century. The Earl granted charters at it in 1346, and David II. issued a writ here in 1367. It is mentioned in 1371, in the charter of Robert II., giving certain lands and the keepership of the tower of the manor of Tarnaway to Thomas le Graunt and his heirs, as the place where, yearly, at Pentecost, the reddendo of one silver penny and six arrows were to be tendered as a blench rent.] (Taylor's *Edward I. in the North of Scotland*.)

The Royal Fort at Nairn stood on the bank of the river, a little above the present bridge. The river, with a rocky precipice, guarded one side of it, and it was strongly walled, and ditched about on the other sides. The Thanes of Calder were hereditary Constables of this fort, and so was the present John Campbell of Calder, till the Jurisdiction Act anno 1747.

CASTLE OF NAIRN.

[The Castle of Nairn was next occupied by Edward's troops in their march northwards. This fort and its adjacent burgh, were founded by William the Lion, on land which had originally belonged to the Bishop of Moray [in excambium illius terrae apud Inuernaren, quam Dominus rex Willielmus pater meus cepit de Episcopo Moraviensi, ad firmandum in ea castellum et burgum de Inuernaren.] This castle appears to have been built in order to supersede a more ancient one, which stood near the influx of the river into the sea.

The latter is said by Buchanan to have been captured by the Danes from the Scots in the reign of Malcolm I.; and is described by Camden as "a tower on a peninsula of extraordinary height built in a wonderful manner, and anciently possessed by the Danes." According to the *Survey of Moray*, there were persons living about the end of last century, who remember to have seen, at spring tides, vestiges of its foundations now covered by the sea. The castle built by King William stood on the west bank of the river, on the site still distinguished by the name of "the constabulary garden." William Prat, Alexander de Moravia, and Reginald le Chen, senior, who each held in succession the office of Sheriff of Nairn in the 13th century, were, apparently, in virtue of their office, the keepers of this castle. They were succeeded in the command of it by the Roses of Kilravock. In the Chamberlain's Accounts for 1264, credit is given to Alexander de Moravia, for twenty-one shillings and three pence paid by him for plastering the hall, and for the purchase of locks for the tower or keep, and of two cables for the drawbridge of

the castle. [“Item in emplastracione aulae, cum serruris emptis ad turrim, et cum xi. s. datis, pro duabus cablis emptis ad warnisturam castri et aliis minutis xxi. s. iiid.”] (Taylor’s *Edward I. in the North of Scotland*.)

At Inverness we find in our histories a Fort or Castle very early. It stood on a hill close by the river, and commanded the town. What was the form of the old fort, I find not: but it appears that it had a ditch, and an agger or rampart of earth on three sides. The governor of it was appointed during pleasure, or for life, for some ages; but about the beginning of the 16th century, if not sooner, the Earl of Huntley was made hereditary Constable of it, and for his fee or salary had the following lands, called the castle lands: viz., The three Davachs of Dunachtin, and the two Davachs of Kinrara and Delnaford in Badenoch, the Davach of Shevin in Strathern, the lands of Tordarach, Bochruben, and Dundelchak in Strathnairn and Stratherick (these lands are the property now of the Laird of MacIntosh); likewise the Davach of Essich in the parish of Inverness, now belonging to MacIntosh; the lands of Porterfield, Little Hilltoun, Albnaskiach, and Haughs, all near the town of Inverness; the three Davachs of Castle Leathers, and Coulduthil, the two Davachs of Upper and Nether Torbrecks, and Knocknagial; the two Davachs of Dunainmore, Dunaincroy, and Lagnalane; the two Davachs of Dochgarach, and Dochnaluirg; the lands of Dochfoure, Dochcharn,

and Dochnacraig, all in the parish of Inverness; and the lands of Bunachtin and Drumbuie in Strathnairn. The above-mentioned lands, now belonging to MacIntosh, were granted to that family, as an assythment for the death of the Laird of MacIntosh, whom the Earl of Huntley caused to be barbarously murdered in the Castle of Huntley, in the year 1550. These lands were held Ward, but MacIntosh purchased the freeholding of them; the other castle lands hold of the Duke of Gordon.

CASTLE OF INVERNESS.

[The Castle of Inverness, before which Edward's army next appeared, stood upon the eminence still designated the Castlehill. It is said to have been built by Malcolm Canmore; after he had demolished the ancient stronghold called Macbeth's Castle, which was situated on the extremity of the hilly ridge, called the "Crown," at the east end of the town. Allusion is made to the latter Castle in a Deed of the year 1361, in which Document two sisters, named Ada and Susanna, are mentioned as the heiresses of it.—[Susanne et Ede sororum et heredum veteris castri]—also to a piece of ground called the field of the old castle, [campo veteris castri] which extended towards the river. The town, which rose up under the walls of the castle built by Malcolm Canmore, was, as already stated, constituted by David I., one of the six chief places in the kingdom [*loca capitalia Scotiae comitatum per totum regnum,*] where the King's Justiciar held his court. It was also created a Royal burgh at this time.

Its burgesses possessed the privilege called *ausum* in common with the other burgesses of Moray, and had the right of pasturing their cattle in, and taking firewood from, the neighbouring forest, both which privileges were afterwards confirmed by King William. He also protected its woollen manufactures by granting a charter which prohibited persons residing beyond the bounds of the burgh from making "cloths dyed and shorn contrary

to the assize of David I." He conceded several immunities to its burgesses, such as an exemption from wager of battle in civil cases, and from paying toll on their merchandise throughout the kingdom. A fosse was dug round the town by him, on the condition, as already mentioned, that the burgesses should erect a good palisade, and agree to keep it in repair. Inverness was celebrated in the reign of Alexander II. as a place for shipbuilding—materials for which abounded in the neighbouring forests. Here was built, in 1249, for Hugh de Chatellar, Count of St. Paul and Blois, a vessel, the Leviathan of the age—which was called by Matthew Paris "the wonderful ship," on account of its great size. The commerce of the burgh was extensive, and was carried on chiefly by Flemings. One of its annual fairs is said to have been usually attended by foreign merchants. The exports were wool, cloths, furs, hides, fish, and cattle.

It is probable that beaver skins were one of its articles of merchandise. According to Boece, the beaver was anciently found on the banks of Loch Ness; and we know from a public Record that "beueris" skins were included among the exports from Scotland in the reign of David I. Inverness appears to have been at this time the principal station for the herring fishing in the Moray Firth. Boece alludes to the great quantities of herrings that were caught at this place prior to this time. This seems to be corroborated by the fact, that in 1263 Laurence le Graunt, the Sheriff of the County, is mentioned as disbursing 20 marks for 20 lasts of herrings, purchased for the King's household, and 105 shillings and 3 pence for their freight to Leith.* A charge of £7 13s. is also made in the same accounts for the transport of 540 head of cattle by ship to the same port. [Item in *carragio quingentarum vacuarum usque leith, per navem, vii. lib. xiii. s.*]† thus showing that a considerable intercourse by sea existed at this time between the Moray Firth and the Firth of Forth. A few topographical and other details are mentioned in regard to the town and its vicinity in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Alexander II. gave to the burgesses Markinch and the *prepositura* of Kinmyles, consisting of the upper and

* Chamberlain's *Accounts*, vol. i. p. 31.

† *Idem*, vol. i. p. 21.

lower lands of that name; and a stake fishing [yhara] on the Ness, to the Bishop of Moray and his successors, with the reservation that the tenants should grind their corn at the King's mills—which were, doubtless, situated in the locality still designated by that name—and should settle their disputes in his court. Allusion is made in the same charter to the Bishop's house in this barony. The Parish Church which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was presided over by a vicar, who was appointed for life, and had a manse provided for him near the Church, where he was bound to receive the Bishop of the diocese and the Abbot of Arbroath. He enjoyed as his stipend all the pertinents of the vicarage, except the tithes of corn, lands, mills, and herrings, and the rents of the lands of the Church, all of which were paid to the Abbey of Arbroath.

The Dominicans had their Monastery and Chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Mary, with its Cemetery on the site of the present Chapelyard.

The Franciscans' Convent occupied the ground still named the Greyfriars' yard. Both were settled here by Alexander II. about the year 1232.

The Damysdale [Doomsdale]—so named from its leading to the Gallowhill—is alluded to in 1362. It is the present Castle Street.

Mention is also made of a road called Scathgat running parallel to the Ness, and of the Scatisgat leading to a place called Knokyntynole. Brumybauc, the Crasse [Carse], the Schipflat, the Surrflat, and the Halc [Haugh], are likewise referred to as localities in the vicinity of the burgh. St. Mary Chapel, belonging to the Dominicans—who appear to have left the town prior to the year 1359—was endowed by John Scot, a burgess, in 1361. He bound himself and his heirs to pay 100 shillings yearly as a stipend to a chaplain, and to give him a robe on St. Andrew's Day. He also built for him a manse, with a garden inclosed with a fence, close to the chapel.

To return to the Castle. In 1263, the sum of 38 shillings and nine pence was paid for constructing or repairing a palisade around it. There was also disbursed by the Sheriff in the same year, the sum of £7 19s. for erecting a Scottish house and a wardrobe room with a roof of double boards within the walls of the castle—[pro con-

struzione unius domus Scoticane infra castrum de Inuer-
nes, &c., cum constructione gardrobae cum coopertorio de
duplicii borda.*] The chaplain who officiated in the Chapel
of the castle received five marks, equal to £3 6s. 10d., as
his yearly stipend—[Item capellano ministranti in capella
castri de Inuernes, illo anno, quinque marcas.]†

The first governor of the Castle, whose name is known,
was Shaw MacDuff, the second son of the Earl of Fife.‡ For
the services which he had rendered in suppressing the
rebellion of the Moravienses in 1161, Malcolm IV.
rewarded him with large estates, and the command of the
Castle of Inverness, of which he was made hereditary
keeper. He afterwards assumed the name of Macintosh
(the son of the thane), and thus became the founder of
the clan of that name. The governorship of the castle
remained in the family for a period of a hundred and
thirty years. Angus married in 1292, the heiress of
Dowal Dal, the chief of the Clan Chattan; and during
the minority of his son, the castle was seized by the
Comyns, and was held by them when Edward's army
now appeared before it and summoned it to surrender.]
(Taylor's *Edward I. in the North of Scotland*.)

There was likewise a Royal Fort in Urquhart.
It stood on a rock on the west side of Lochness,
12 miles from Inverness, and as many from Fort
Augustus. The loch washed the east wall of it,
and the other three sides were fortified with a
strong rampart, a ditch, and a draw bridge.
There were within the walls some good buildings,
and accommodation for a battalion of soldiers.
In the year 1303, King Edward I. of England
reduced this fort, and basely put to the sword
Alexander Bois and his garrison, who had bravely
defended it (*Abercro.*). In 1334, Robert Lauder,

* Chamberlain's *Accounts*, vol. i. p. 23.

† *Idem*, vol. i. p. 21.

‡ Shaw's *History of Moray*, p. 69.

Governor, maintained this fort against the English (*Ibid.*); Sir Robert Chisholm was Governor of this fort in 1364 (*Hist. Kilr.*); but who succeeded him I know not. These old forts were a good defence against the military weapons at that time in use; but when cannons and mortars were invented, they were soon reduced.

[*Castle Urquhart* is a very prominent object from Loch Ness, and combines, in a very remarkable degree, natural and artificial defences upon its *enciente*, and within its area. It has a gate-house, and is far more extensive than most Highland Castles. The Keep is an excellent example of the stern rectangular Scottish fortalice of the fifteenth century. It is about 40 feet square of four stages. The remains of the Castle now standing can scarcely be older than the fifteenth century, and probably it was one of those built about the middle of it, in accordance with the strong recommendation published by James I. on his return from his captivity in England. The third floor of the Keep, or fourth stage, differs from the rest, in that a small chamber is contained in the south-eastern angle, the door into which is in the south wall, near its east end. This may have been an Oratory.] (See *The Builder*, 17th February, 1872, by G. T. Clark.)

The Citadel of Inverness, called Oliver's Fort, from Oliver Cromwell, was a modern regular building. It was begun in 1651, and next year finished. It stood on the east bank of the River Ness, near the mouth of it; was a regular pentagon, with bastions, ramparts, a wet ditch, a covered way, and a glacis; one side of it was washed by the river, and it could lodge 2000 men. But it had several inconveniences; the foundation was bad, and brandered with oak, the

water was brackish, the air was moist, approaches to it were easy, and the town was a shelter for an enemy. In the year 1662 it was demolished, because it was a relict of usurpation, but chiefly because it was a check upon the adjacent Highlands then esteemed loyal.

Fort George stood on the Castle Hill of Inverness, and the building was begun soon after the rebellion in 1715; the old Castle was repaired for lodging the officers; a fine house was built for the governor; a pile of barracks stood as wings to the Castle; a Chapel, magazine, and store-house were built; the old draw-well was opened, and the whole surrounded with a strong wall, proof against any artillery except battering cannon. But the hill, being a heap of quick sand, could be easily sapped or undermined; and it is strange that so much money was thrown away upon it. On the 19th February, 1746, this fort was taken and reduced by the rebels.

Fort Augustus, so called from Frederick Augustus then Prince of Wales, stands at the south end of Lochness, in the point betwixt the rivers Eoich and Tarf, where they empty into the loch. The loch and Tarf wash two sides of the fort, which was built about 1730. The Rebels likewise demolished this fort; but it has been since rebuilt, and surrounded with a ditch and ramparts. A small Galley is kept on Loch Ness, for the service of this fort, and to convey stores to it.

The Barrack of Ruthven in Badenoch was begun to be built in 1718. It stood where the old Castle had been, and consisted of two large houses standing parallel, and joined by ramparts, and two bastions in the diagonal angles. It had convenient lodging for two companies of men, a draw-well, and a large stable. In August, 1745, all the company lodged here joined General Cope, except Serjeant Mulloy and fourteen men, who maintained the barrack against two hundred of the Rebels. And in February, 1746, Serjeant Mulloy with twelve men only defended it for three days, and obtained an honourable capitulation, for which gallant behaviour he was preferred to be a Lieutenant. The Rebels burnt the barrack.

Fort George at Ardersier stands on a point of land that juts into the Firth. The land is near a half mile broad to the continent, and tapers to a narrow point. On this point the fort is built in form of a triangle, whereof the sea covers two sides, and the ditch, which may receive the sea at pleasure, makes the third. It is environed with high ramparts and bastions, with a raveline, a covered way, and glacis. It is well served with sweet water, and can have a fine harbour. For an English mile no high ground commands it, and no lines of approach can be digged in the hard channel without great labour. The air is pure and wholesome, and it will accommodate 2,000 men.

Besides these Royal Forts there were in this country several Fortalices built by gentlemen for defence. Of these the following five were ancient, and built in the old form, viz.:—

The Castle of Old Duffus, which stood on a green moat on the bank of the Loch of Spynie. It was square, the wall about 20 feet high and 5 feet thick, with a parapet, ditch, and draw-bridge. Within the square were buildings of timber built to the wall, with stables and all necessary offices. I question not but this fort (the walls whereof were built with run lime, and as yet stand pretty entire) was built as early as the time, if not sooner, of Friskinus de Moravia, in the reign of King David I.*

The Castle of Rait, in the parish of Nairn, was of the same form, and was probably the seat of Rait of that ilk.

The Red Castle in Abernethie, the walls of which stand, was of the like form, and was the seat of Cummene, Laird of Abernethie.

The Castle of Ruthven, the seat of Cummene, Lord Badenoch, stood on a green mount, jutting into a marshy plain. The mount is steep on three sides, and tapering to the top, as if it were artificial; the area on the top, about 100 yards long and 30 broad; the south wall was 9 feet

* I look upon it as probably the site of an ancient strength. The remaining masonry is not older than the end of the 14th century. (Cosmo Innes' M.S.)

thick, through which the arched entry was guarded by a double iron gate and a port-cullis; the other walls were 16 feet high and 4 thick, and in the north end of the court were two towers in the corners, and some low buildings and a draw-well within the court. I have seen this fort entire.*

In Lochindort, in the hills betwixt Strathspey and Brae Moray, stand in a small island the walls of a strong Fort, as yet entire. In the year 1335, when the Earl of March defeated and killed David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athole, at Kilblain, and raised the siege of Kildrummy Castle, the Earl of Athole's lady fled to the Castle of Lochindort. Sir Alexander Gordon laid siege to it, but next year King Edward of England obliged him to raise this siege. This fort and the adjacent forest belong to John Campbell of Calder, for "James, Earl of Moray, 31st of October, 1606, disponed to Sir John Campbell of Calder the lands of Borlum, Coulards, and Kinchylie, cum Lacu de Lochindorb, domibus in eo, et adjacentibus Shelingis (*Pen. Cald.*)."
[Translation—With the Loch of Lochindorb, with the houses in it, and the neighbouring Sheilings.]

LOCHINDORB.

[On the 25th of September, Edward I. arrived at the Castle of Lochindorb [called Loghindorm in the *Itinerary*], situated between Brae Moray and Strathspey, and distant

* It is artificially scarped. The buildings are not old. (Cosmo Innes' MS.)

about 21 miles from Kinloss. His object in visiting this remote Fort was, doubtless, to carry the war into the heart of the country of the Comyns, whose chief—Sir John Comyn, now the principal ruler of the kingdom—was still in arms against him.

It is stated in a note to *Trivet's Annals*, that, after capturing towns and castles, he came to the domains of John Comyn of Badenoch. [. . . villas et castra capiens, pervenit ad terras Johannes Comyn de Badenoch]; a remark which clearly shows the object which he had in view in his present expedition into the Highlands of Moray. At Lochindorb, which is situated about midway between the Findhorn and the Spey, and within a short distance of the ancient King's highway * which led from the plains of Moray to the banks of the latter river, Edward was in a convenient position to detach troops to overrun Badenoch and the adjacent districts. This Castle was the strongest fortress in the possession of the Comyns at this time. Its insular position, in a broad, deep lake, must have rendered it a safe retreat in times of turmoil and civil war, but this advantage was not sufficient to protect it from assault by Edward's army, furnished, as no doubt that army was, with warlike engines, the means of constructing rafts, and all the appliances necessary under the circumstances for carrying on a siege. But whether the fort was now evacuated by its garrison on the approach of the invader, or resistance was offered by its defenders to his troops, is not known. Certain it is, however, that it was occupied for some time by Edward. The Island on which this Castle stands is about an acre in extent, and is apparently composed of gravel and shingle. It is situated about the middle of the loch, which is two miles long and about half a mile broad, and is surrounded by deep water. In the description given of it in the *Old Statistical Account of Cromdale* it is stated that "great rafts or planks of oak, by the

* The "via regia" of Findhorn and Drummynd is mentioned in a Charter of Alexander II. in 1236 (*Reg. Ep. Morav.*, p. 31), and was, no doubt, a continuation of the "via regia" which is alluded to in 1253-98 as extending below the standing-stones on the lands of Fanymarthack or Fynlarg in Inverallon (*Idem*, p. 143). It is supposed to have been originally a Roman road.

beating of the waters against the old walls, occasionally make their appearance." This remark suggests the idea that the island is perhaps partly artificial, and that it was originally one of those fortified retreats—such as the islets of Loch-an-Eilean and Loch Moy, also belonging to Inverness-shire, and others throughout Scotland and Ireland—to which the original Celtic name of *Crannoges** is now given by antiquaries.

The country around Lochindorb, now so bleak and dreary in its aspect, was covered with pine, oak, birch, hazel, and other trees in the 13th century. This wooded tract, anciently called the Forest of Leanich, extended to Duthill, and abounded in red deer. It is probable that the original stronghold on the island of Lochindorb was a Peel or wooden structure, and that the present Castle—the walls of which are still standing to a height of 20 feet—was erected in the time of Edward. It bears a strong resemblance in its irregular quadrangular shape, curtain walls, and round towers at its four angles, broad or bell-shaped at their base, to the English and Welsh castles of the same period. Of this style of mediæval military architecture there are several examples in Scotland, as the Castles of Bothwell, Dirleton, Kildrummy, and Caerlaverock, all of which would, in England, be considered as "Edwardian" castles.† The walls of the Castle of Lochindorb, now heavy with lichens, have a rich yellow tint imparted to them by these plants, and look, from the lowness of the island on which they stand, as if they rose from beneath the surface of the water. They enclose the whole area of the island to within a few feet of the water's edge. They are built of granite, whinstone, and slate from the neighbouring hills. The principal gateway, sally-port, windows, and loopholes have their lintels, mouldings, and facings formed of freestone, which—as none of this material is found nearer than Tarnaway—was most likely either brought from that locality, or, as some suppose, from the more distant quarries of Duffus. The principal gateway is a pointed arch of the early

* *Notice of Crannoges*—read by Joseph Robertson, Esq., before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 14th December, 1857.

† See Lecture delivered by Joseph Robertson, Esq., before the Archæological Institute, Edinburgh, July 1856.

English style. It has a portcullis, but no barbican or flanking towers, which, from the insular situation of the castle, and its close proximity to the water, appear to have been considered unnecessary for its defence. The curtain walls are tolerably entire, except on the side on which the Chapel stood—the foundations of which building are still seen. But the circular towers, which flank these walls at their four corners, are, with the exception of one, considerably dilapidated. Within the area enclosed by these outer walls is the Keep, a large quadrangular building, having a round tower at one end. It is mentioned that in the last century “several vestiges of houses” were seen within its walls, but the surface of the court is now so covered with rubbish, and overgrown with weeds, that it is difficult to trace their foundations. Its hall, no doubt, was built entirely of wood, as was the case in most of the castles of that period. The traditions of this part of the country in reference to Lochindorb are more connected with Edward III. than his grandfather, Edward I., and relate almost exclusively to the relief by the former monarch of the Countess of Athole when besieged by Sir Alexander Gordon in 1335.

The spot on the south-east bank of the loch where the besiegers had encamped and worked their war engines to make a breach in the walls is still pointed out. The tradition referring to Edward I. is obscure, and associates his name, as stated in the *Old Statistical Account* already quoted, with the buildings of the castle—thus affording a vague indication of his having been concerned in constructing them. Tytler thinks that he made additions to the original fortifications, but it is more probable, from the similarity between this castle and those erected by him in England and Wales, that it was entirely built under his orders between the close of 1303 and the beginning of 1306. Fordun informs us that, during Edward's stay here, which continued for some time, the northern parts of the kingdom submitted to him [“in propria persona ad Lochindorb pervenit et ibidem aliquamdiu moram faciens partes boreales ad pacem cepit.”] But it may be presumed that the formal ceremony of receiving the homage of the many vanquished nobles who now presented themselves before him did not occupy his time so exclusively as to preclude all leisure for amuse-

ment. Whilst sojourning here he, doubtless, enjoyed his favourite pastime of hunting. Walsingham and John of London, the Monk of Canterbury, mention that, when not engaged in war, he indulged in hunting for birds as well as for wild animals, but chiefly for deer, which he was in the habit of pursuing on horseback. [“Cum vacaret ab armis venationibus tam avium quam ferarum, indulgebat et maxime cervorum quos in equis cursoribus solebat insequi,” &c.]. Hardying, the chronicler, also adverts to his love of sport. In speaking of the country from Stirling northwards, which he describes as being to a great extent covered with wood, he recommends Edward IV., to whom his Chronicle is addressed (with the view of inducing that monarch to invade Scotland), to take with him in his expedition “kennets and ratches, and seek out all the forests with hounds and horns, as King Edward with the Longshanks did,” and “to bete the Forestes of Boyne and Haynge [Enzie] with fetemen.” It appears, then, from this testimony that Edward had, as a part of his establishment when he marched through Scotland, packs of stag-hounds and wolf-dogs, as these kennets and ratches are supposed to have been; and there can be little doubt, therefore, that during his residence at Lochindorb his principal amusement in his hours of relaxation from State affairs was the chase. And that, eager and successful* as he generally was in this sport, he now shot many an arrow from his bow, and sounded with his horn the death-note of many a deer in the *trystas* which he held with his nobles in the Royal forests of the Leanich and Drummynd in Brae Moray. While the earlier part of the day was thus devoted to the pleasures of the chase, the later portion of it, no doubt, was not less agreeably spent within the walls of the Royal residence. As the shades of evening set in, the battlements and watch-towers of the insular Fortress, illuminated with torches on every side, sent forth a blaze of light over the surface of the lake. And while the soldiers, who either bivouacked or occupied tents and temporary huts, constructed of branches of trees, on its banks partook, around their camp fires, of their evening meal before retiring to rest, the knights

* He is said to have killed two hundred bucks in one day in Eaglewood Forest, between Penrith and Carlisle.—Camden's *Britannia*, vol. iii., p. 189.

assembled in the banqueting hall of the Castle to pass the evening in conviviality and social mirth. Here Edward, presiding at the festive board, dispensed his hospitality to his nobles, and listened, while the wine cup was filled and went round, to the minstrels who strung their harps and sang of love, chivalry, and war.

It is supposed by many, from the accounts which writers have given of his expedition, that Edward proceeded farther north than Moray. He searched, says Hemingford, the land and all the Highlands, even as far as Caithness, nor was there any one who resisted him—[“Perlustravit nec erat que terram et omnes montes usque Cathenesse necerat qui resisteret ei.”] Hardying informs us that he devastated the latter country—

“ And Kynge Edward then into Scotlande wente,
Through all Catnesse destroyed in great hate.”

The limit of his expedition towards the north is thus alluded to by Barbour—

“ To Scotland went he then in hy
And all the land gan occupy,
Sa hale that baith castell and townes
War intill his possessione,
Fra Weik anent Orkney
To Mullysuwk in Galloway.”

Whilst Edward resided in Moray “he had,” says Lord Hailes, “a view of the coast of Caithness. He may probably have crossed over in a ship from curiosity. This may account for the expression of historians, that Edward went as far north as Caithness.” There is reason, however, to believe, notwithstanding the plausible explanation given by Lord Hailes of the passages above quoted, that the invader did not personally visit the distant county here referred to.

It will be seen by a reference to the dates in the *Itinerary*, and to those of the letters which Edward issued at Kinloss, that the only time—viz., that between the 25th of September and 4th of October, during which he could have accomplished this journey—was spent by him at Lochindorb, where, according to Fordun and Wyntoun, he stayed for some time.

“ And owre the Mownth then also fast
Til Lowchyndorbe, then stracht he past,

There swjourned a qwhile he bade
Quhill he the North all wonnyn had." *

But though Edward himself did not cross the Findhorn, yet there can be no doubt that he despatched a force to overrun the northern counties. It is not stated what number of men was sent on this expedition, nor is it known who commanded them.] (Taylor's *Edward I. in the North of Scotland*.—ED.)

The other Fortalices were strong towers—at Calder, Kilravock, Daviot, Lovat, Borlum, Ernside, Dallas, &c. These were for the most part built in the reign of King James II., when the rebellion of the Earls of Douglas, Crawford, Ross, &c., had run the kingdom into confusion.

[At the Mains of Daviot, a seat of the ancestors of the present Laird of Mackintosh, there were, till lately, the ruins of a Fort or Castle, built by the Earl of Crawford in the beginning of the 15th century. This was, in those days, a place of great strength, being situated on the extremity of one of the sand hills, had a dry-ditch and draw-bridge, which divided and fortified it from the level ground on the west, and a strong wall on the other sides, where the height and natural declivity of the hill added much to its security. It was a square building, and enclosed an area of 360 square yards. It had four circular towers, one in every corner, and containing each three stories, all vaulted; had secret passages in the middle of the wall, communicating with large vaulted rooms for the mainguard at the principal entry.

This was a stately edifice, and commanded a very extensive prospect. The walls and towers, except a small breach at the main gate, were all entire about 44 years ago; and, had they suffered no injury besides *natural decay*, might have remained for centuries yet to come a specimen of the superior skill of our ancient operative masons. In 1748 a wadset was obtained of the lands of Daviot, where the Castle stood, and it is much to be

* Wyntoun, vol. ii., p. 118.

regretted that, in a country where stones are so plentiful as to be an encumbrance, this noble and only monument of antiquity should be partly destroyed for furnishing materials to a modern farm-house and offices. Still, however, a magnificent ruin remained; but it must shake the feelings of every person of taste to be told that its total destruction was gradually accomplished during a period of 40 years for no other purpose than procuring the old lime and rubbish for the possessor's dunghills.] (*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1795, vol. xiv., written by Rev. Alex. Gordon.)

I now come to give some account of the Military actions, whether Battles, Skirmishes, or Rencounters, within this Province; the earliest of which was

The Battle of Forres. Sueno, son of Harald, King of Denmark, having defeated the English, and driven their King, Ethelrad, out of the kingdom, sought to be revenged of the Scots, who had aided Ethelrad. For this end he sent a great army into Scotland, under the command of Olaus and Enecus, who landed in Moray in 1008, and committed great ravages. King Malcolm II., being informed of this, marched against them with an army of new levies, and gave them battle near the town of Forres. But the unexperienced soldiers, rushing on with more courage than conduct, and the King being wounded in the head and carried out of the field, the enemy got an easy victory, which they improved, as might be expected from such barbarians, with cruelty, bloodshed, and plunder. They soon reduced the castles or forts of Elgin, Forres, and Nairn.

Flushed with this success, they sent for their wives, children, and families, hoping they should quietly possess the pleasant and fertile plains of Moray, and from thence extend their conquests.

A furlong or two east of Forres stands an Obelisk, called *Sueno's Stone*, which is one of the most curious and stately Monuments of that kind in Britain. Some years ago, the corn-land round it being always ploughed up, it was like to fall; but Lady Ann Campbell, late Countess of Moray, caused it to be set upright, and supported with several steps of freestone. The height of this stone cannot now be certainly known. It is about 23 feet above ground, and said to be 12 feet under ground; its breadth is about 4 feet. What is above ground is visibly divided into seven parts, whereof the lowest is almost wholly hid by the supports. The second division contains many figures, but much defaced. In the third are figures of men, and some of beasts, with human heads. The fourth contains ensigns and military weapons, carried by figures much worn out. And in the fifth, sixth, and seventh, the figures are scarce discernible. On the reverse is a Cross, beneath which are two human figures of a Gothish form.

Mr. Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, will have this Obelisk erected after the Battle of Mortlach, and in memory of the Danes leaving the kingdom; but why should there be erected

at Forres a monument of a battle fought at more than 12 miles from it? And after the Battle of Mortlach the Danes fought at Balbryde, Aberlemno, Gemri, and Cruden in Buchan, where they engaged to leave the kingdom; which places were more proper for such a monument than at Forres.

[*The Forres Pillar*, commonly called "Sweno's Stone," is situated about half a mile to the east of Forres, on the north side of the highway, and occupies the position in which, in all probability, it originally was placed. The circular stone steps, clasped with iron, around the base are modern, and were placed as supports to the pillar by a late Countess of Moray, Lady Ann Campbell. It is a hard sandstone, 23 feet in height above ground, and said to be 12 feet more under ground; the breadth at the base is 4 feet, the thickness about 15 inches. On the south side there are five divisions, each filled up by numerous figures cut in relief.

The first division represents a number of persons as if engaged in deep council, and holding conversation in groups, probably the back ground representing the walls of some hall or fortification. The second division exhibits an army of horse and foot on the march, the cavalry being in the van, and at full gallop, the infantry following with spears in their hands and shields. In the third division are appearances of a battle, both single combats and general fighting; in one corner are several decapitated bodies lying piled one on the other, while at the top of this division troops are seen entering the gate of a city, or, it may be, besieging it. The fourth division shows a number of captives bound together, some naked, and apparently females, others clothed in short jackets, while a row of warriors above, with unsheathed swords, are shouting victory. The last division is very obscure, but it gives indications of horsemen either returning as conquerors from the battle or retreating as beaten fugitives. The other, or north side of the stone, has only three divisions. Below are two figures, with human heads,

though their bodies are of rather grotesque forms, typical perhaps of priests bending over something as if in an attitude of prayer, while a smaller human figure stands behind each. All these figures have a broad cap on their heads, while the warriors on the other side are all bare-headed. In the division above is a long Cross, the arms at the top being within a circle. This part is much worn. The Cross and the entire spaces of the middle division are filled up by most ingenious carving, representing the intricate and endless convolutions of the Runic Knot. The edges of the stone are also occupied by these Runic Knots, and evidently show the elaborate art of the sculptors. At the base of one of the edges of the stone are several figures, apparently females.

A piece of lead covers the top of the stone, as a defence against rains. In 1813, when digging into a mound close to the pillar, eight human skeletons were found. The beautiful drawing given in *Stuart's Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. i. plates xviii.-xxi., was taken with great pains, and a scaffolding was erected so as to enable the artist to copy the upper part of the stone with accuracy.] (See Rhind's *Sketches of Moray*.—ED.)

The Danish families (above) sent for arrived, upon which they fortified a small Promontory in the parish of Duffus, which our historians call *Burgus*. This promontory juts into the Firth and rises above low water about 16 yards. To the west and north it is a perpendicular rock. To the east the ascent is steep and covered with grass; at the south the ascent is more easy. The top forms nearly a rectangular figure, in length about 100 yards and in breadth about 30. This area they surrounded with a strong rampart of oaken logs laid deep in the earth, of which some pieces are as yet digged up, and the burnt remains appear in the earth. The neck of land towards

the south being small, they cut a deep trench, and brought the sea round the promontory; and within this they cut other trenches, with a rampart of stone and earth. At the foot of the promontory, to the east, is an area about 40 yards long and 20 broad, of which the hill makes one side, and the other three were well fortified with a high rampart. This fort served them for a place of arms, for a safe retreat if defeated, for an asylum to their wives and children; and it guarded the harbour at the foot of the rock, where the transports lay. Our historians, not acquainted with the geography of the country, place this fort at Nairn, but no such promontory or fort was there, nor any tradition of it. As the Danes called it *Burgh*, it still retains that name, and is called *Burghsea*, or surrounded by the sea. The sea near it has retired by the reflection from the rock, and it is no longer an island.

After the Battle of Forres, King Malcolm II. returned south, and finding that the Danes purposed to settle in Moray, raised a powerful army, with which he marched in the beginning of the year 1010, to drive out the invaders. How soon the Danes were certified of the road by which the King marched, they moved forward to meet him, wisely choosing to fight at a distance from their projected settlement. A little east of the House of Carron, there are manifest vestiges of a Camp, where it is thought the Danes encamped,

till by their speculators or scouts, they had certain intelligence of the King's approach ; then they marched to Mortlich, and the King's army came to Achindun, two miles from the enemy. The King, having learned that the Danes lay on both sides of the water of Dulanen near the Church, was advised to use a stratagem, viz.—A mile above the Church, the water runs in a narrow channel betwixt high rocks : here it was dammed up, and made to flow back into a spacious plain ; and the army about the dawning of the next day having attacked the enemy, he caused break the dam, and the torrent separated the two parts of their army, so that the one could not assist the other ; those on the south side, who were the smaller number, were all cut off ; but upon the falling of the water, the great body of the Danes charged the Scots with great fury, yet were entirely broken, and fled precipitately towards Moray. Enecus their general was killed, as was another general named Magnus or Manus, from whom *Bal-vanie*, i.e. Manus's Town, takes its name. The Scots lost three generals, Kenneth Thane of the Isles, Dunbar Thane of Laudian, and Græme Thane of Strathern. In memory of this victory, the Episcopal See of Murthlac was erected. After this, the Danes had repeated defeats at Balbryde, Aberlemno, Gemrie, and Cruden, and left the kingdom about the year 1012. (*Buchanan.*)

King Malcolm III. having concluded a peace with the King of England, was soon after disturbed by insurrections at home. The inhabitants of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, made a revolt, and raised a powerful force. MacDuff Earl of Fife was detached to quell this tumult; but when he had come to Dee, and was certified of the enemy's strength, he halted till the King came up with a considerable reinforcement. The army then marched to the River Spey, where the rebels on the other side were ready to obstruct their passage. The standard-bearer and others, declined to enter a river so deep and rapid, in the face of a numerous and desperate enemy; upon which, one Alexander de Caron, taking the standard, stepped into the river, and his boldness encouraged the army to follow him. The enemy observing the resoluteness of the Royal army, laid down their weapons, were pardoned, and peace was restored. Alexander Caron was made hereditary standard-bearer, and constable of the Castle of Dundee. Having defeated a bold English bully or fencer, he got the name of *Scrimger*, i.e. hard fighter, which became the surname of his family. One of his descendants was created Viscount Dundee; but the male line failing, the honours became extinct. (*Buchanan.*)

In the year 1110, the 4th of the reign of King Alexander I. some young gentlemen in the Mearns and Moray, whose licentious life the King had

restrained, conspired to cut him off. The conspiracy was happily discovered, and then the villains placed their safety in an open rebellion, and got a great number of desperadoes to join them. The King raised an army and pursued them into the Country of Moray. At the River Spey the rebels halted, determined to dispute the passage; but the King immediately rode into the river, the army followed, and he ordered Alexander Scrimger, son of Alexander Caron, to charge the enemy, which he did so gallantly, that many being killed, the rest betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The King pursued them through all Moray, and at the Stock-foord above Beaulie, followed them into Ross; some were apprehended and punished, and others found shelter from inaccessible mountains and rocks. This resolute action, in the beginning of his reign, rendered the remainder of it peaceable. (*Wint. Major. Buch.*).

King Malcolm IV. was a Prince of too mild and peaceable a disposition for the time in which he lived; and suffered the English to rob him of those counties in England, which his predecessors had possessed for some generations. This made his own subjects contemn his authority, and disturb his reign; Somerled (*Somharle MacGill-bhride*) Thane of Argyle and the Isles, was reduced by Gilchrist (ancestor of the Ogilvies) Earl of Angus; the same Earl defeated Mac-

Dowal Lord of Galloway. But the Moravienses, or people of Moray, were not so easily reduced ; these, under the command of (*Gildomhnich*) Gil-dominic, laid waste the neighbouring countries, and so little regarded the Royal authority, that they hanged the heralds sent to require them to lay down their arms. Earl Gilchrist was sent to reduce them, but was defeated and chased over the Grampian Mountains. These insults upon authority, and the cries of his people, roused the indolent King. About the year 1160, he marched with a powerful army, and found the enemy on the Moor of Urquhart near the Spey, ready to give him battle. Having passed the river, the noblemen in his army reconnoitred the enemy, and found them flushed with their late victory, and become desperate by rebellion. To fight against such men, and under a Prince of no military character, would make the event doubtful ; and should they succeed, the victory would only destroy their fellow subjects, and weaken the force of the kingdom. Wherefore, they advised the King to promise the rebels, that, upon their submission, all their lives should be spared. The rebels finding the King's army superior, and resolute ; and considering their own crime was such, as, if defeated, left them no room to hope for favour, they accepted the King's offer, and laid down their arms. The King performed his promise to them ; but in regard that they were,

as Buchanan says, “*Homines inquieto semper ingenio,*” of a turbulent and unpeaceable disposition, he, with the advice of his nobles, ordained that every family in Moray, that was engaged in this rebellion, should, in a limited time, remove out of Moray into other countries, where possessions would be assigned to them; and that people of such countries should be placed in Moray. For performance of this, they gave hostages; and at the time appointed, transplanted themselves, some into the northern, but the greater number into the southern countries.

Our historians say that there was here an obstinate Battle, in which the Moray men were (*pene internecionem*) almost totally cut off, and strangers brought into their place. But the account given in the Register of Paisley (Vide *Innes's Critic. Essay*) is as I have here written, and seems more probable. The consequences confirm it; for the Moray men, at that time transplanted into the south, did assume, and their posterity use the surname of *Moray*, and are numerous in all the counties southward to the English borders. In the northern counties, some retain the name of Moray, and others have taken that of Sutherland; but in the Province of Moray, there have been very few of the name of Moray, since the time of that action. I likewise incline to think, that as that time the MacIntoshes, and probably the Roses of Geddes, came into Moray;

so the Calders and Innesses, whose ancestors were Moray men, but not concerned in that rebellion, assumed surnames from their possessions.

The next Battle or Fight, in order of time, does, I confess, as to the circumstances of it, depend on tradition ; but such as is unvaried. *Buchanan, in vita Jac. I.* mentions this fight, but out of the order of chronology, for it happened anno 1386; “A dis-union having arisen between the Clanchattan and the Camerons, they fought with such obstinacy of courage and strength, that, while a great number of the Clanchattan was killed, the Camerons were nearly cut off to a man.” The occasion of the conflict was as follows :—The lands of MacIntosh and Lochaber being possessed by the Camerons, the rents were seldom levied, but by force and in cattle. The Camerons, irritated by the poinding of their cattle, resolved to make reprisals, and marched into Badenoch about 400 men strong, commanded by Charles MacGilonny. MacIntosh informed of this, in haste called his friends and clan to meet together. The MacIntoshes, MacPhersons, and Davidsons, soon made a force superior to the enemy ; but an unseasonable difference was like to prove fatal to them. It was agreed by all, that Macintosh, as Captain of the Clanchattan, should command the centre of their army ; but Cluney and Invernahavon contended about the command of the right wing. Cluney claimed it

as Chief of the ancient Clan Chattan, of which the Davidsons of Invernahavon were but a branch. Invernahavon pleaded, that to him, as the oldest branch, the right hand belonged, by the custom of Scottish Clans. The contest was spun out, till the enemy were at hand; and then MacIntosh, as umpire, imprudently gave it in favour of Invernahavon. The MacPhersons, in whose country they were met, and who were as numerous as both the MacIntoshs and the Davidsons, being greatly offended, withdrew as spectators. The conflict was very sharp, by the superior number of the Camerons; many of the MacIntoshs, and almost all the Davidsons were cut off. The MacPhersons could no longer bear to see their brave neighbours and friends overpowered. They rushed in upon the Camerons, and soon gave them a total defeat. The few that escaped, with their leader, were pursued from Invernahavon, the place of battle, 3 miles above Ruthven in Badenoch, over the River Spey; and Charles MacGilony was killed in a hill in Glenbenchir, which is still called *Cor-Harlich*, i.e. Charles's Hill (*Hist. MacIntosh*).

This Fight, in my opinion, gave occasion to the memorable conflict on the Inch of Perth, in presence of the King and nobility anno 1396. *Buch.*, lib. x. Cap. 2 and 3 gives a particular account of it, but does not name the combatants. Boethius calls them “Clan Cattani et Clan Caii;” but

though we read of those of the name of *Cay* or *Kay*, in the Lowlands, they are never reckoned among the clans, nor had the Clan Chattan any intercourse with them. The combatants, thirty of a side, were the MacPhersons, properly Clan Chattan, and the Davidsons of Invernahavon, in Irish called *Clan-Dhai*, which is commonly sounded *Clan-Cai*; and our historians, ignorant of the Irish, made them a Clan different from, and at enmity with the Clan Chattan; whereas they were a tribe of them. I mentioned above the rash judgment of MacIntosh in their favour, giving them the right wing in battle, and Clunie's resentment of this injurious decision: after which decision, the MacPhersons and Davidsons, for ten years, miserably slaughtered one another. The judicious author of a *MS. History of the Family of Kilravock*, says, That a contest about precedence was the occasion of this conflict, and the fight at Perth was construed a Royal sentence in favour of the MacPhersons. I have mentioned this conflict, though it was not in Moray, because the combatants were of this Province; and our historians have not sufficiently explained who they were, or what was the cause of the combat.

Although it may be reckoned a digression, I shall mention another Conflict, which was not within this Province, that I may rectify a mistake in our history. *Buchanan, in vita Jac. I.*,

writes, “The King had set at liberty the two Anguses, Duffus and Moray, both robber-captains. Then, turning their hatred against each other, and having met with an almost equal number of adherents (for each of them maintained about 1200 thieves out of their plunder), the battle was so keenly contested, that scarce one was left to tell the tidings.” The translator would make this a Conflict between the Duffs and the Morays; but it was anno 1427, betwixt Angus *Dubh*, or Black Angus MacKay, ancestor to Lord Rae; and Angus Moray of Pulrossie (son of Alexander Moray of Coulbin in Moray), at Drumnacoub near Tung in Strathnaver, where both the Angusses were killed. (*MS. Hist. of Suther.*)

The next military Action, in order of time, was near the town of Elgin, anno 1452. When the Earl of Huntly was at the Battle of Brechin in May, 1452, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, took advantage of it, entered the lands of Strathbolgie, burnt the Castle of Huntley, and committed many outrages through that lordship. The account of this stopped Huntley from improving his victory, and made him return in order to preserve his own lands. Douglas returned into Moray, and Huntley followed him with a considerable force, especially of cavalry; Douglas with 600 foot, but few horses, stood on the heights of Whitefield, not daring to face

Huntly in the plains. This provoked the Gordons to plunder Douglas's lands, and finding that one half of the town of Elgin had joined Douglas, they burnt that half, which gave rise to the proverb, "Half done, as Elgin was half burnt." But in the evening, as a troop or two of the Gordons were spoiling the lands of Kirkhill in the parish of St. Andrews, a superior detachment of Douglas's men suddenly attacked, and drove them over Lossie, and some of them were killed in the bogs and fens, which occasioned this rhyme,

What's come of thy men, thou Gordon so gay ?
They're in the bogs of Dunkintie mowing the hay, &c.

The Earl of Huntly, however, drove Douglas into the south, where he was killed in the year 1455. It is the tradition of the country, that the half of the town of Elgin, at that time burnt, stood westward of the present town, and was never rebuilt; but the buildings were continued eastward to the precinct of Elgin College. And it is thought, that, at that time, the Earl of Moray gave to the town of Elgin the sixty Auchteen parts or (eight parts) of land near Pittenriech, to compensate the loss of burning the half of the town. The town enjoy these lands by immemorial possession, without any particular charter or right that I know of. But I incline to think that these were Castle lands, granted to the Earls of Moray as constables; and that as, after Douglas, no Earl appears to have officiated as constable, or to have

resided at Elgin, and the Earldom remained long in the hands of the King, the town's possession was fixed by prescription, and I find not that any of the subsequent Earls questioned it. (*Buch.-Hist. of Douglas*).

A shameful and bloody conflict happened betwixt the MacIntosches and Munroes in the year 1454. The occasion was this:—John Munroe, tutor of Fowles, in his return from Edinburgh, rested upon a meadow in Strathardle, and both he and his servants falling asleep, the peevish owner of the meadow cut off the tails of his horses. This he resented, as the Turks would resent the cutting off their horses' tails, which they reckon a grievous insult. He returned soon with 350 men, spoiled Strathardle, and drove away their cattle. In passing by the Loch of Moy in Strathern he was observed. MacIntosh, then residing in the Island of Moy, sent to ask a *Stike Raid*, or *Stike Criech*, i.e. a Road Collup; a custom among the Highlanders, that, when a party drove any spoil of cattle through a gentleman's land, they should give him part of the spoil. Munroe offered what he thought reasonable, but not what was demanded; MacIntosh, irritated by some provoking words given to his messenger, convocated a body of men, pursued the Munroes, and at Clachnaharie near Inverness, they fought desperately. Many were killed on each side, among whom was the

Laird of MacIntosh ; John Munroe was wounded and lamed, and ever after called John Bacilach. The Munroes had great advantage of ground, by lurking among the rocks ; whilst the M'Intosches were exposed to their arrows. How rude and barbarous was the spirit of men in those days ! And upon what trifling, nay shameful provocations, did they butcher one another ! (*Hist. of Lovat.—Hist. of MacIntosh*).

The next, in order of time, was the Battle of Cean-Loch-Lochie in the year 1544. The minority of the infant Queen, and the disturbance raised in the south by the Queen mother and Cardinal Beaton, encouraged the Highlanders to break loose, and to hope for impunity. Particularly the Clan Ranald became very unruly. Ranald, son of Donald Glas of Moidart, was sister's son of Hugh Lord Lovat ; and the Clan Ranald, conceiving a prejudice against him much upon Lovat's account, dispossessed him, and put John MacRanald his cousin in possession of the estate. Lovat resented this injustice, and repossessed his own nephew, but the unruly Clan dispossessed Ranald again, and laid waste a part of Lovat's lands in Glenelg. Then George Earl of Huntly, Lieutenant of the north, was ordered to march against the Clan Ranald, and to reduce them to a peaceable behaviour. He set out in the end of May, 1544, attended by the MacIntosches, Grants, and Frasers ; and when

they arrived in Lochaber, all differences were composed in a seemingly amicable way, by the mediation of the Earl of Argyle. Ranald was put in possession of the estate. Huntly returned home. The MacIntoshes and Grants conveyed Lovat to Gloy, now called the Nine Mile Water, and offered to escort him into his own country. But Lovat, apprehending no danger, declined it; and they marched home by Badenoch. Lovat soon came to see his error; for at Letterfinlay, he was informed that the Clan Ranald were at hand, in full march, to intercept him. He despatched Bean Clerach, with 50 men to secure an important pass; but Bean either losing his way, or playing the knave, kept out of danger. As Lovat came to the north end of Loch Lochie, the Clan Ranald appeared, coming down the hill from the west, about 500 in seven companies. Lovat had about 300 who all stript to the shirts, the day (July 2nd) being very hot. And hence the battle was called *Blar-nan-Lein*, i.e., the field of shirts. The fight was very obstinate, first with arrows, and next with sword and target. In the heat of action, Simon Master of Lovat came up with a few men, and rushed in to find his father; but soon received a mortal wound. His father observing it became desperate, and both were killed. The fight continued till night; and tradition bears, that only four of the Frasers, and ten of the Clan Ranald, remained alive.

Buchanan, and the *MS. Account of Lovat's Family*, blame the Earl of Huntly for this barbarous conflict; that he had privately stirred up the Clan Ranald to intercept Lovat. The character of that Earl, and the resentment of his treachery, long entertained by the Frasers, found a suspicion that he was guilty, and the author of the History of that family makes but a poor defence for him. One remarkable circumstance is observed by our historians, that 80 gentlemen of the Frasers, killed in this conflict, had left their wives pregnant, who all brought forth male children, which contributed much to recruit the Clan. (*Buch.; Hist. of Lovat, Hist. of MacInt.*)

The Battle of Glenlivat was so called because it was fought in that Glen. It was likewise called the Battle of Altchonlachan, from a small brook of that name betwixt Glenlivat and Glenrinnes, on the banks of which it was fought. The occasion of this battle was the Earl of Huntly, having basely murdered the Earl of Moray at Dunibristle anno 1592, became on that account odious to all Protestants. And he, with the Earls of Errol and Angus, entered into a conspiracy against both Church and State, and invited the King of Spain to invade the kingdom. The Church at length excommunicated, and the King (unwillingly) forfeited these noblemen, and gave commission to the Earl of Argyle, a youth of 19 years of age, and of no military skill, to

reduce them. The Earl of Athole, Lords Forbes and Lovat, the MacNeils, MacLeans, MacKenzies, MacIntosches, Grants, Munroes, Irvines, and the Lesleys of Balquhan were summoned to join Argyle, and the King promised to follow him in person with another army. The rebel Lords were not afraid. They knew the King's favour for them, and that he would make no haste. They also knew Argyle's want of experience, and that many in his army were Roman Catholics, and would not heartily promote the Protestant interest, and that all his army were a raw Militia. Wherefore they prepared a body of horse, all gentlemen, and some field pieces. They likewise corrupted the Grants and Campbell of Lochinel.

Argyle marched in the beginning of September, 1594, and on the 27th laid siege to the Castle of Ruthven in Badenoch. But the MacPhersons, Huntly's vassals, defended it so bravely that he soon raised the siege, and marching through Strathspey came to Drummin on 2nd October. The Earls of Huntly and Errol (for Angus had not come up) were that day at Auchindun. Argyle's council advised him to wait for the King, at least till the Frasers and Mackenzies should join them, and till the Irvines, Forbeses, and Lesleys should come up with their horse, and make a balance against the enemy's horse. But upon the enemy's approaching, October 3rd, he determined to fight. The numbers are not

agreed upon. Some give Argyle 10,000 and Huntly but 900. Straloch gives Huntly 1,320. Calderwood makes Huntly's army 1,400 and Argyle's 5,000. Huntly and Errol could raise a far greater number. And considering the five clans that had not come up to Argyle, though the other clans had made 500 each, which certainly they did not, they would not make 5,000. The field of battle was the declivity of a hill betwixt Glenlivat and Glenrinnes. The MacIntosches and MacLeans made Argyle's right wing; the Grants, MacNeils, and MacGregors the left; and the Campbells, &c., the centre. Huntly's field pieces, which many had never seen before, put the Highlanders into disorder, and his horses rushing in increased it. Campbell of Lochinel (whose brother Argyle had put to death for murdering Campbell of Calder anno 1592, and who himself was Argyle's nearest heir) had wrote to Huntly to point his artillery against the yellow standard. This was done, and Lochinel falling, all his men fled. (*Calderw.*) John Grant of Gartinbeg, Huntly's vassal, had concerted that the Grants, whom he commanded, should retreat how soon the action began, and they did so. (*Hist. of Gord.*). Thus the centre and the left wing were broken by treachery. The right wing stood firm after the rest had fled, and retreated with order and safety; and MacQuaire observes that had they been sustained they had

certainly carried the victory. Argyle attempted in vain to rally his men. The victory was complete. On Argyle's side 500 were killed, besides MacNeil of Bara, Lochinel, and his brother. On the other side Errol was wounded; Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindun, Huntly's uncle, and Gordon of Gight, with twelve more, were killed; and many more were wounded.

The King, in his usual dissimulation, was glad of Argyle's defeat, and jested him upon it. Gordon of Straloch, in his account of this battle, says, “On the fourth night after the King's return I saw Lennox, Huntly, and Balquhan at supper privately in my father's house, which could not be without the King's knowledge.” And Burnet of Crimond, in his MS. history, declares “that he saw among Huntly's papers a private remission to him for the Battle of Glenlivat, granted in that same year, 1594.” All these circumstances considered, it was no wonder that Argyle was defeated.

I come now to give some account of the Battle of Aldern, Montrose having, on the 2nd of Feb., 1645, in the night surprised the Campbells at Inverlochie in Lochaber, and thereby defeated them, wrote a vaunting letter to King Charles I., which he thus concludes—“Give me leave, after I have reduced this country to obedience, and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty, as David's General to his Master, Come

thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name." This vain letter made the King break off the treaty of Uxbridge, which proved his ruin. (*Welw.*)

Montrose marched into Moray, and was soon joined by Lord Gordon, the Earl of Aboyne, Lord Napier, and others. The Covenanters, in the meantime, had called over 1,000 of their troops from Ireland to join their raw Militia, and Baillie remaining in the south, Hurry marched into the north, and came to Inverness, understanding that Montrose was reinforced with 1,000 foot and 200 horse of the Gordons, and was marching back from Strathbogie. Hurry called in the assistance of the Frasers, MacKenzies, Rosses, Sutherlands, and Brodies, and made an army of about 3,500 foot and 400 horse. Montrose's army consisted of about 3,000 foot and 400 horse, made up of Gordons, MacDonalds, MacPhersons, and Irish. On May 4th, 1645, they engaged near the village of Aldern, immediately above the house of Kin-nudie. The fight was for a little obstinate and dubious, till Lord Gordon, bravely charging with his horse, Major Drummond, called the *Crowner*, who commanded Hurry's horse, wheeling about unskilfully, broke the foot ranks of their own men, and then Lord Gordon soon put them to a precipitate retreat. To this bad conduct of Drummond the defeat was greatly owing, for which he was tried at Inverness and shot. About

800 of the Covenanters were killed, among whom were Campbell of Lawers and Sir Hugh and Gideon Murrays. The loss on Montrose's side was considerable, and among the killed was William MacPherson of Invereschie. This, and the two following victories at Alford, too much elated Montrose, who understood better how to gain than how to improve a victory. This appeared at the total defeat at Philliphaugh, Sept. 13th this year, after which he could not bring any force into the field.

The Battle of Cromdale, anno 1690, comes next to be described. The death of the Viscount Dundee in the Battle of Killiecrankie, July 16th, 1689, was the ruin of King James's affairs in Scotland. Colonel Canon, with 3,000 men, surprised the Earl of Angus's regiment at Dunkeld on September, 1689, but the brave Colonel Cleland, with 1,200, made him retire, with no small loss both of men and of reputation. Canon retired into Lochaber, and in Spring, 1690, Colonel Buchan, with about forty officers, was sent over from Ireland and assumed the command. In the beginning of April the rebel chiefs had a meeting. Some inclined to capitulate, but Sir Ewan Cameron diverted this, hoping that another campaign would retrieve their affairs. And till the seed time should be closed, and greater numbers should be raised, Colonel Buchan, with about 1,500 of MacLeans, MacDonalds,

MacPhersons, Camerons, and Grants of Glenmoriston, marched towards the Lowlands to amuse and fatigue the King's troops. In marching through Strathspey they plundered the country, and in passing towards Strathbogie they burnt the house of Edinglassie. But Mr. Gordon made severe reprisals; for, in their return, he seized 18 of their number and hanged them on the trees of his garden. [See Vol. I. p. 181.]

By this time Sir Thomas Livingstone had come to Inverness with a battalion of foot, six troops of dragoons, and two of horse. The rebels, informed of this, returned towards the Highlands, and Livingstone resolved to intercept them. Conducted by some gentlemen of the Grants, he marched on the night of April 30th with the horse and dragoons, leaving the foot to follow. By the dawning of the morning May 1, 1690, he came to Dairirade, or top of the hill above Castle Grant, and, that he might not be discovered, he was directed down the valley of Auchinarow, to cross Spey below Dellachaple. The enemy had come to Cromdale April 30th, and choosing to keep near the hill, encamped that night near Lethindie, and had some advanced guards near the Kirk of Cromdale, which guards observed the troops fording the river, and alarmed the camp. This moved the General to mount some of the Grants on dragoon horses, and all the horse and dragoons, led by these gentlemen, rode smartly

(the distance being about a mile, and a part of the road concealed by a birch wood) and surprised the enemy before they could all get into their clothes, who fled precipitately about a half mile, many of them quite naked; and, at the foot of the hill of Cromdale, faced about and made a faint defence, but were soon routed; and had not the hill been so steep that the horse could not pursue, few would have escaped. There were above 100 killed and about 60 were made prisoners, who were found in the Castle of Lethindie and the mill. It deserves to be remarked that Colonel MacDonald of Keppach, who was ever keen for plunder, but never once fought for his King, would not encamp with the other rebels, but with his men quartered in Garvin, half a mile distant, and thereby escaped without loss. Such of the rebels as climbed up the hill could not be pursued. But a party of Camerons and MacLeans, who next day crossed the river, were pursued, and on the Muir of Granish near Aviemore some were killed, and the rest taking shelter in Craigelachie, and Keppach, who, with their banditti, attempted to reduce the Castle of Lochinelan in Rothiemurchus, were by that laird and his tenants beat off with loss.

The Rebellion in the year 1715 is fresh in the memory of some yet living. On November 13th that year, the rebels at Preston, in England, were forced to surrender; on the same day the

Battle of Sheriffmuir was fought, which in the consequences of it was a complete victory. And likewise on that day the town and Castle of Inverness were surrendered. On Saturday, Nov. 12th, Arthur Rose, brother to Kilravock, a bold and daring man, with Robert Rose, brother to Blackhills, and twelve chosen men, undertook to surprise the main guard in the Tolbooth. They were in the twilight conducted by one of the rebels, who promised to get the door opened, upon which they might rush in. The villain got access, but loudly alarmed the guard, and Arthur Rose, pressing to get in, was bruised betwixt the door and the door-cheek, and shot through the body, of which he died in a few hours. This so enraged Kilravock that he summoned the Governor to surrender, else he would set the town in fire in a few hours. Sir John MacKenzie of Coul, Governor, knowing Kilravock's resoluteness, knowing likewise that Lovat, with the Frasers from the Aird, and a battalion of Grants from Strathspey, were approaching, he seized all the boats on the river and transported his garrison into Ross early in the morning of November 13th. Then Kilravock and Culloden garrisoned the town for the Government. Thus, was the town of Inverness reduced by Kilravock, although others who had no share in it assumed the praise.

The Battle of Culloden, on the 16th of April, 1746, is so recent and fresh in our memories, that

I shall take no further notice of it, than to observe, that it has broken the charm of the broad sword and target, and may convince the Highlanders, that, in the way of fighting now practised, their undisciplined, though brave militia, cannot stand before well disciplined troops, conducted by a proper general.*

I now come to give some account of the Military ways within this Province. It was the custom of the Romans to make military ways or roads, in all conquered countries, for the more easy communication between their colonies and forts. Xiphil. says of Severus, “ He invaded Caledonia, and, in his progress, endured the heaviest labour in cutting his passage through woods, levelling obstructions, in raising mounds through marshes, and in making bridges on rivers.” There are clear vestiges of those ways in the Lothians

* *The Graves at Culloden Moor.*—The graves or trenches in which the bodies of the unfortunate Highlanders were buried after the Battle of Culloden are being cared for by the proprietor of the estate of Culloden. Formerly the graves were distinguishable in the level greensward at the roadside by the slightly raised sod, but stones bearing the names of the clans have just been erected at the head of each trench. On one stone is inscribed the names of the clans “M‘Gillivray, M‘Lean, and M‘Lachlan;” and there are separate stones for “Clan Stuart of Appin,” “Clan Cameron,” and “Clan Mackintosh.” Two graves are marked “Clans mixed.” At the abortive “great cairn,” a Slab has been placed bearing the following inscription:—“The Battle of Culloden was fought on this moor, 16th April, 1746. The graves of the gallant Highlanders who fought for Scotland and Prince Charlie are marked by the names of their clans.” (ED.).

and Fife, particularly one that runs from Crail to Stirling Bridge, along the coast.

It was in the year 1724, that General Wade, commissioned by his Majesty, to inquire into some disorders committed in the Highlands, projected the roads that are now so useful. Next year they were begun. The first Road was from Stirling to Inverness and Fort Augustus. This road runs in two branches; one by Dunkeld and Blair of Athole; the other by Dunblain, Glen-almond, and Aberfeldie, and they meet at Delnakerdich, and enter this Province at Dalwhinnie, where the road again branches into two; the one leads 6 miles to Caitulack, 3 to Gavamore, and 12 to Fort Augustus; the other branch is 9 miles to Ruthven, 10 to Aviemore, 10 to Corribruch, and 10 to Inverness. At the same time, the road from Inverness to Fort William was begun. From Inverness to the General's Lodge are 12 miles, about 7 of these are upon the bank of Loch Ness, a part of which, called the Black Rock, was a very high precipice hanging over the loch; here, for almost half a mile, the rock was blown up with powder, and the miners were hung by ropes in boring into it. Now the road is beautiful and safe, secured from the precipice below by a wall 3 feet high. From the General's Lodge to Fort Augustus, are 12 miles; thence to Leterfinlay 12; and thence to Fort William 12 miles. In the year 1753, the road from Fort

George in Ardersier to Perth was begun ; it runs from the Fort to Kilravock 4 miles ; to the river of Ern 7 miles ; to Castle Grant 5 miles ; to the river of Avon 6 miles ; to Corrigarf 7 miles ; and thence by Castletoun of Braemar, Glenshee, and Blair of Gourie to Perth. There are likewise roads from Fort Augustus and from Inverness to Bernera in Glenelg.

These roads are from 20 to 24 feet broad, run in straight lines where the hills permit, are annually repaired, have aqueducts and side drains, great stones are set up on end on the road side, as guides in snow or mist. And besides bridges on rivers, every brook and rivulet has a bridge over it. In a word, this is a work that might have added lustre to the Roman name. By means of these roads, soldiers have a straight and easy route. Artillery is carried into all the forts. Waggons, coaches, and all kinds of wheel carriages can pass from south to north. The weekly Posts make quick despatch. Commerce and intercourse are made easy. Convenient lodging is found at every stage, and the Highlands will be gradually civilized and improved.

I shall now conclude this part, with an account of some ancient customs, chiefly Military, observed in this and other Provinces.

Anciently, every chief of a clan was, by his dependants, considered as a little Prince, not absolute, but directed by the gentlemen of his

clan. As the *Premores Regni*, and all who held off the King *in capite*, were his Grand Council or Parliament; so the gentlemen and heads of families, were to the chief, by whose advice all things that regarded the clan in common, or particular families, were determined, differences were removed, injuries were punished or redressed, law suits prevented, declining families supported, and peace or war with other clans agreed upon.

Young chiefs and heads of families were regarded, according to their military or peaceable dispositions. If they revenged a clan quarrel, by killing some of the enemy, or carrying off their cattle, and laying their lands waste, they were highly esteemed, and great hopes were conceived of them. But if they failed in such attempts, they were little respected; yea, despised if they did not incline to them.

Clans had their military officers, not arbitrarily or occasionally chosen, but fixed and perpetual. The chief was Colonel or principal commander. The oldest Cadet was Lieutenant-colonel, and commanded the right wing. The youngest Cadet commanded the rear. Every head of a distinct family was captain of his own tribe.

Every clan had an ensign or standard bearer, which office was at first conferred on some one who had behaved gallantly, and usually it became hereditary in his family, and was supported by a gratuity, or a small, annual salary.

Every chief usually had his Bard, Poet, or Orator, whose office it was (as among the Germans) in time of war to excite and animate them, by reciting the brave actions of the clan, and particularly of their ancestors and chiefs, as Lucan writes:—“Likewise, ye Minstrels, who celebrate in strains of endless praise the brave warriors who died in battle—ye have poured forth the numerous songs of the Bard, free from the toils and dangers of war.”

At marriages they recited the genealogy of the married couple, and sung an Epithalamium; and at burials they mournfully sung the elegy of the chief or great man.

Their military music was the great pipe. The office of Piper was often hereditary, and had a small salary annexed to it. And the pipers of several clans had a chief piper who governed them; and schools in which they were instructed.

The most of their time being employed in military exploits, or in hunting, every clan had a stated place of rendezvous, where they met when called by their chief. The manner of convocating them on a sudden emergent, was by the fiery cross.

The chief ordered two men to be despatched, one to the upper, and the other to the lower end of his lands, each carrying a pole or staff, with a cross tree in the upper end of it, and that end burnt black. As they came to any village or house, they cried aloud the military cry of the

clan, and all who heard it armed quickly, and repaired to the place of rendezvous. If the runner became fatigued, another must take the pole.

Every clan had a peculiar Cry of War, by hearing which they were convocated to the place of general meeting. The cry of the MacDonalds was *Freich*, i.e. heather; of the MacPhersons, *Craig-ubhie*; of the MacKenzies, *Tullick-ard*; of the Grants, *Craig-Elachie*. And this was the cry of him that carried the fiery cross.

Every clan had a distinguishing badge, whereby they might be known, as they had no military habit or livery. Their badges were natural and plain (not ribbons, feathers, or such gew-gaws), which they wore in their bonnets. The MacDonalds wore a bush of heather; the MacIntosches a holly branch, the Grants a fir bush, &c.

Upon an expedition, they much regarded omens. An armed man meeting them, was a good omen. If a woman barefooted crossed the road before them, they seized her, and fetched blood from her forehead. If a deer, fox, hare, or any beast of game appeared, and they did not kill it, it was an unlucky omen, &c.

The *Cuid Oidche*, i.e. a night's provision was paid by many tenants. In hunting, or going on an expedition, the tenant who lived near the hill, furnished his master and his followers a night's entertainment, with brawn for his dogs. This is now converted into a stated rent.

PART VI.

THE ECCLESIASTIC HISTORY OF MORAY.

SECTION I.—THE HEATHEN OR PAGAN CHURCH.

IT cannot be doubted, that, in this Province, as indeed in all Britain, Druidism was the mode of the heathenish religion. The remaining vestiges of their places of worship, and of their superstitious customs, put this beyond question. Both sacred and profane history testify, that, before temples were built, the ancient places of worship were in shady groves, under spreading trees, and often in high places.

The word *Druid* comes from the Greek $\Delta\rho\nu\varsigma$ an oak, or any wood; or from the Celtic *Deru* or *Dru* an oak; for they worshipped in groves, and under spreading trees. *Druid* was the general name of the sect or order; and their literati were divided into priests, vates, and bards, who were their divines, philosophers, poets, orators, physicians, and judges in all causes. The grand articles of their religion were:

- I. To worship the deity.
- II. To abstain from all evil. And,

III. To be intrepid. This last was enforced by the belief of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state. (*Diog. Laer.*).

They were the instructors of youth in the mysteries of religion, philosophy, and morality, &c. They kept their academies only in the sacred groves, retired from the noise of the world, and undisturbed from the hurry of business.

They were called *Semnothei*, for their devotion (*Suidas*). And acknowledged one only eternal and self-existent God, whom they worshipped without any images or statues. They owned the immortality of the soul, and a future state of retribution ; they taught a warm devotion to God, and the strictest virtue and equity among men ; they offered sacrifices and oblations daily, and used ablutions and purifications. In a word, the Druids were at first held in great veneration, and much admired for their piety, virtue, and morality ; but afterwards they degenerated greatly. By the Greeks and Romans they were led into polytheism, gross idolatry, superstition, human sacrifices, &c.

They committed no part of their religious mysteries, or natural philosophy, to writing ; but the bards turned these into clenching rhymes, and repeated them on all proper occasions. Moral precepts called *Tegasg na Bard*, and *Foghlam na Filidh*, i.e. "The instructions of

bards and philosophers," are to this day repeated in the Highlands by old men.

The transmigration of souls, taught, though not at first, by the Druids, seems to have given rise to a notion among many ignorant and superstitious people, viz., that when one dies of a consumption, the fairies steal the soul out of the body before death, and animate some other person with it.

Possibly the way in which the Druids explained the immortality of the soul, and a future state, occasioned the common saying, "that at death one passes into the *Saoghal hal*, i.e. the "Yonder World," fancying, as the Americans do, that souls departed, go to pleasant regions beyond the mountains.

The Druid priests were the ordinary ministers of religion, and an arch-priest, chosen out of the college of priests, presided in their meetings. Their worship was either stated and ordinary, or annual and more solemn. Their stated worship consisted in sacrifices and oblations, performed in pleasant groves, and commonly on a level plot of ground; upon which they erected one or more circles of stones, all on end. And in the centre stood the altar, which was a broad stone laid horizontal on four stones as pillars; and on this, sacrifices were offered. No sacrifice, however, was to be made without leaves or branches of the mistletoe; and before

they entered the circle to offer, they made a tour about it sun-ways; and the like they did when they had done offering.

These Circles, or remains of them, are found in every country. I cannot but mention the Circle at Claffernis in the Isle of Lewis; it consists of 12 stones, each 7 feet high, and 2 broad; at south-east and west, 3 stones are erected in a line without the circle; to the north point is a lane, 19 stones in a line on each side, 6 feet distant from one another, the lane 8 feet broad; one stone stands in the entry of the lane; and in the centre of the circle, a stone 13 feet high, cut in the form of a rudder (*Mr. Martin*). The circle denotes the sun; the 12 stones, the 12 signs; the stones to south-east and west, the cardinal points; the 19 stones in the lane, the lunar cycle; the stone in the entry closes the cycle, and then it begins anew in the other line; the rudder shews, that the temple was dedicated to Anvona the deity of the sea. (*Toland*.)

In Durris, at the end of Loch Ness, is a temple of three concentric circles; the altar stone is taken away, but near to where it stood is a hallowed stone, either a laver to wash in, or a basin to receive the blood of the sacrifices; a lane leads through the circles to the centre; in the area of the outer circle, probably stood the spectators; in the second the offerers; and at the altar, the priest and servants.

Both the true worshippers of God, and in imitation of them the superstitious, at first worshipped in open fields.

The *Naos* and *Temene* of the ancient Greeks, were but allotments of ground, and sacred enclosures for worship, and not covered houses. I have seen these in corn fields left un-tilled, because they were supposed sacred. The heathen places of worship were circular or round, because dedicated to the sun, the emblem of their deity. The Highlanders call them *Clachan*, i.e. a collection of stones: and hence they call a Church *Clachan*, as *Clachan Michel*, *Clachan Muire*, i.e. Michael's Church, Mary's Church. The altar stone they call *Crom Leac*, i.e. the bowing, or worshipping stone; and the priest *Cromfear*, i.e. the worshipper. The Britains called the sacred grove, wherein the circle stood, *Lhwyn*; and hence probably, they call a Church *Lhan*. And the Saxon *Kirk* or *Circ*, comes from *Circus* a circle.

The tour about the circles, is called *Deas-Soil*, from Deas the south, and Soil the sun, q.d. south about with the sun. I have often seen at marriages and churhing of women, and burials, such a tour made about the Church. This ceremony was not peculiar to the Druids. We find it at the funeral pile of Pallas. Their more solemn worship was at their high festivals; particularly in the month of March, on

May-day, at Midsummer, and at Hallow Eve. These festivals were celebrated on high or conspicuous places, where they erected Cairns or heaps of Stones, on which they kindled great fires, and offered sacrifices. The fire was forced (and accounted sacred) by rubbing one piece of dry wood against another. All the families in the neighbourhood extinguished their fires; and upon paying a small acknowledgement to the priest, they received of the cairn fire.

Their cairns were very different from the cairns or heaps of stones on high ground, gathered out of their corn fields, and cast loose in a heap; and different likewise from the small cairns near to common roads, where men have been buried, or coffins laid down at burials, that the bearers might rest. These are called *Leacadh na Marbh*, i.e. "Stones erected in memory of the dead." The Druid cairns were great and broad heaps of stones, hedged in, all round with big stones placed on end in the earth, and joined close. In some of these cairns, another close circle of such stones was placed in the middle of the cairn; and the altar stone, one or more, on the top within the inner circle. Such a cairn, pretty entire, is to be seen on the Moor to the east of Aviemore in Strathspey. Cairns are likewise on the top of the hill of Dunevan in Calder; to the east of Gateside betwixt Elgin and Forres, on the muir of Urquhart in Moray; and in many other

places. Round the great cairn, there were often Tumuli, or small heaps, in which, in the south, have been found urns containing the ashes of burnt bodies; possibly the like might be found in this country. These cairns were so placed as to be within view of one another. The Druid who officiated at the cairn fire, was called *Carneach*. The fire was of dry wood preserved for that use; it was an expiatory punishment for criminals to stand for a limited time betwixt two contiguous fires, or to walk barefooted thrice over the burning ashes of a cairn fire. Mr. Toland thinks, that Silius Italicus alludes to this custom, when he makes *Equanus* the *Sabine* to pass through the fire (if unhurt, it was a good omen, otherwise a bad) on Mount Soracte in Italy, on whose top was Apollo's cairn. Possibly the trial by ordeal, practised long in this country, had its rise from this custom of passing through the cairn fire.

I shall now mention such vestiges of the Druid cairn fires and festivals, as I have observed in this country. One of their great solemnities was in the month of March, when they gathered and consecrated the mistletoe of the oak. On the 6th of the March moon, a priest, clad in white, climbed the tree, and cut the mistletoe with a golden bill, and others in white, standing round, received it; after which they offered at their cairn fires with mirth. (Plin.) In the increase of the March moon, the High-

landers cut withs of the woodbine that clings about the oak. These they twist into a wreath or circle, and carefully preserve it till the next March. And when children are troubled with hectic fevers, or when any one is consumptive, they make them pass through this circle thrice, by putting it over their heads and conveying it down about their bodies. The like they do to cattle in some distempers. This I have often seen.

Another grand solemnity was on May day. On the first of May, they offered sacrifice for the preservation of their cattle; and that day was held sacred to Pan or Baal, and was commonly called *La Baal-Tine*, corruptly "Beltan day," i.e. the day of Baal's fire. Clear remains of this superstition I have been present at when a young boy.

Upon *Maundy Thursday*, the several herds cut staves of service wood about three feet long, and put two cross sticks into clefts in one end of the staff. These staves they laid up till the first of May. On that day several herds met together; every one had two eggs, and a bannock or thick cake of oat meal crusted over with the yolks of eggs. They raised a pile of dry wood or sticks on a hillock, and striking fire with a flint they kindled the pile; then they made the *Deas-Soil* thrice round the fire; after which they roasted their eggs, and eat them with a part of the bread. The rest of the bread they brought home, to be eaten by the family; and having

adorned the heads of their staves with wild herbs, they fixed them on the tops, or above the doors of their several cots; and this they fancied would preserve the cattle from diseases till next May.

In the Highlands, the first day of May is still called *La Baal-tine*. In the armory, a priest is called *Belec*, probably from *Baal*: and when one is in great danger, he is said to be *Edir da theine Bheil*, i.e. "between two fires of Baal," alluding to the punishment above mentioned.

The Mid-summer solemnity was celebrated in honour of Ceres. They made the *Deas-Soil* about their fields of corn, with burning torches of wood in their hands, to obtain a blessing on their corns. This I have often seen, more indeed in the Lowlands than in the Highlands. On Mid-summer eve, they kindle fires near their corn fields, and walk round them with burning torches.

The like solemnity was kept on the eve of the first of November, as a thanksgiving for the safe ingathering of the produce of the fields. This, I am told, but have not seen it, is observed in Buchan and other countries, by having Hallow-eve fires kindled on some rising ground.

In all these solemnities they offered sacrifices, and made the *Deas-Soil* round their fires. It cannot be doubted that they had sacrifices of various sorts, as precatory, to obtain blessings; gratulatory, to shew their thankfulness;

and expiatory, to atone for their sins. It appears from Lucan, that the *Celts* and *Gauls* used human sacrifices.

Cæsar, Pliny, and Tacitus assure us, that the Druids used such sacrifices. What creatures they used in sacrifice, or what particular ceremonies, I have not learned. No doubt they used washings and purgations, and clean clothes, as other people did. Æneas would not touch the *Penates* or the *Sacra*, before he washed. The Scots Highlanders, not only put on clean clothes on the Sabbath day, as others do; but in the morning of that day, they wash (not in the house, but *Flumine vivo*) in running water, and they call it *Uisg Domhnich*, i.e. "Aqua Dominica."

The Druid priests were judges in all causes, religious, civil, and criminal; and were exempted from attending war, paying taxes, &c. Their authority was great, their sentence final, and the contumacious were excluded from the *Sacra*, and pronounced profane. This punishment was so severe, that all avoided the company of the interdicted. No one would converse with them; they could enjoy no offices, nor receive honours. Cæsar says, In Gaul the Druids, at a certain season of the year, met in a consecrated place, "in finibus Carnutum," and there decided controversies. This place was *Chartres Civitas Carnutum*, so called no doubt from the Druid cairns.

Their principal seats in Britain were, the Isles

of Anglesey and Man. But they administered justice in every country, and sat *sub dio* on green hillocks. Such round hillocks are found in many places. Two remarkable ones stand a little west of the town of Elgin, and two a little close by the Church of Petty. The Lowlanders call them *laws*, because there the law was given or promulgated. Such are North Berwick Law, Innes Law, &c. The Highlanders call them *Tom an Eracht*, and *Tom a Mhoid*, i.e. "the court-hill." I question not but the *Mute-hill* (rather *Moid-hill*) at Scone was of this sort. So were the *Duni pacis*, near the river Carron in Stirlingshire.

Every Druid judge carried a rod, as a badge of office and authority, called in Irish, *Slaite na Druidheachd*, i.e. "the rod of Druidism." He had likewise an egg hung about his neck, encased in gold, or other precious metal. The eggs were said to be *Ova Anguinum*, "eggs formed by serpents;" and Pliny says, They ascribed great virtues to them. It is confidently affirmed by the common people, that in Summer a number of serpents meet, and work a certain slimy matter into a round ball with their mouths, of the colour of their own skin. I have seen with jugglers round painted balls, which they call *Adder Stones*, and with them they played feats. The Welsh call them *Gleine na Druidhe*, i.e. "The Druid's Glass." These were but amulets of glass or stone. But the Phœnicians and Egyptians

made the egg an emblem of the principle of all things, and represented it as coming out of the mouth of a serpent. Hence came the Druid's egg.

Among the literati of the Druids, next to the priests, were the vates or eubages, called by the Celts and Irish, *Faidhe*. These were their diviners and physicians. By studying natural philosophy, the influences of the celestial bodies, and the qualities and virtues of plants and minerals, they might cure some diseases, and foretell events that depend upon a chain of natural causes; and on this account might be held in great esteem and veneration. But as the innocent name of *Magi* in the east came to be taken in a bad sense, so *Druidhe* and *Druidheachd* came to be abused, even to mean Sorcerer and Sorcery.

The Bards were another order of the Druids' literati. A bard in Celtic signifies a *poet and orator*. They were not only frequent in Gaul and Britain; but Tacitus, *de Mor. Germ.* makes it probable that they were common among the Germans. When armies were to engage, the bard stood on some eminence, and harangued them to rouse their courage. This was anciently much practised in Scotland. As now the general makes a speech to his army before battle, of old the bards did so, and it was called *Brosdughadh Cath*, i.e. "an incentive to fight." Diodorus

observes, that they were held in such veneration, that if battle was begun, and a bard appeared and commanded it, both sides ceased from fighting. They put the religious and moral instructions into rhyme ; presided in their music ; acted a part at festivals ; recited genealogies at marriages and funerals ; and sung the praises of their heroes. Lucan writes the same.—“But how honourable soever this order might have been at first, they afterward became ignorant, venal, and despicable buffoons.” Valesius, in *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. XV. well describes the modern bards. “From these things it appears, that the bards were nothing else but parasites, and like to those whom the Latins called *Scurræ* or buffoons. For as the Buffoons followed the army, and used to divert the soldiers at their feasting with jests and gesticulations, so also did the bards.”

There were likewise female Druids, or priestesses, who might perform some ceremonies of their religion to women, in which it might not be decent to have men employed. And as all Druids frequented the groves, these priestesses probably were the *Dryades* and *Hamadryades*, “The nymphs of the groves,” celebrated by the poets. And I doubt not but these gave rise to the fancy that prevails among the ignorant, viz., That fairy women, or beautiful young girls, clad in green, with loose dishevelled hair, frequented the woods and valleys. I have often heard men

affirm, that they had seen and spoken with such women.

The Druids seem to have had among them some recluses and hermits. In the isles and on the Continent there are many small cells of stone of a round figure, and each cell capable of accommodating one single person, called *Tina Druididhe*, i.e. "The Druid's house." I have not observed any such in this Province. But in the parish of Old Deer, in Buchan, I am told there is a Druid circle on a hill, and on the descent are the vestiges of about thirty cells, which the people call "The Picts' houses," possibly a convent of Druid hermits. These are different from the round stone edifices, 20 feet high and 12 broad, in Orkney and Shetland, called *Picts' houses and burghs*. The Romans had little towers, called *Burgus*, for keeping military stores; and these round edifices might have been *Specula* or *Watch Towers*, built by the Norwegians, when they came into these islands: or they might have been *Druid temples*. For as Zoroastres taught the Persian Magi to build temples, in which they kept their sacred fire (Prid. *Con.* Vol. I.); and as the Druid religion was manifestly derived from that of the Magians, the Druids might have had such fire temples; and it is certain that in Augustus's reign they had temples in France. Vitruvius tells us, that anciently temples were of a round form and open at top. "The ancients,

imitating the structure of the heavens, delighted chiefly in round temples, and built their edifices in the open air, dedicated to the heavens, the sun, and the moon."

The round edifice open at top, on the river Carron near Falkirk, was not the temple of Terminus, as Buchanan calls it; nor a Roman place of arms and ensigns, as Gordon in his *Itinerarium* thinks. There have been found near it the horns of a bull, and a Patera used in sacrifices (*Syb. Hist. of Stirlingshire*) which shews it was a temple; and more probably a *Druid* than a *Roman* temple. For above Tain in Ross are such round tapering edifices, open at top; yet the Romans never built there. In that part of Ross, Ptolemy places the *Creones*, so called from *Cruin*, i.e. "round." And the Picts were called *Cruinidh*, i.e. "the round people;" because their places of worship, their cairns, their temples, and the hillocks on which the Druids sat as judges, were all of a round form, as emblems of the sun, the object of their worship.

The deities worshipped by the Druids, are mentioned by Cæsar. Three of them are mentioned page 234, viz., Teutates, Hæsus, and Taranis. Teutates was called by the Britons *Taith Diun*, i.e. "Mercury the God of journeys;" or *Tytad*, i.e. "the father of the house;" and presides over the lares and penates. Hæsus (Heb. *Strong, Might*) was their supreme deity,

and represented by an oak. Taranis was the deity of the air, as Teutates was of the earth, called *Tarain Thor, Tor*. In Celtic and British *Taran* signifies “Thunder.” Hence Jupiter Taranis. The Earl of Moray’s seat of Tarnua in Irish *Taranich*; probably because some Druid cairn or circle there was dedicated to Jupiter Taranis. Anvona was the deity of the water, so called by the Gauls; and in Irish *Anfana*, signifies “the raging of the sea.” Let me add Apollo Carnius, so called probably from the Druid cairns; and the feast in honour of him was called *Carnea*; and the month of May, *Carnius Mensis*. It was usual with the Romans, to their own names of their gods to add the names or attributes under which they went in the countries where the Romans at the time dwelt: hence also Apollo was called *Grannus*. In the reign of Queen Mary of Scotland, there was digged up, in the lands of Merchiston, a stone, in the shape of an altar stone, inscribed “APOLLINI GRANNO Q. LUSIUS SABINIANUS PROC. AUG. V. S. S. L. V. M.” i.e. “Votum susceptum solvit Lubens merito.” Camden observes, that this *Apollo Grannus* was the *Apollo Akersecomes* of the Grecians, i.e. “having long hair.” *Grannus* may come from the Irish *Grian*, i.e. “the sun,” and in that language *Grianach* signifies “hairy or spreading hair like the scattered beams of the sun.” The Romans, when in Britain, gave Apollo that name.

In speaking of the Druid priests, priestesses, vates, bards, circles, cairns, &c., I have all along observed the vestiges of these which are to be as yet met with in this Province. I shall now add an account of some superstitious customs still practised in this country, and which seem to have had their rise from the Druids.

In hectic and consumptive diseases, they pare the nails of the fingers and toes of the patient, put these parings into a rag cut from his clothes, then wave their hand with the rag thrice round his head crying *Deas-Soil*, after which they bury the rag in some unknown place. I have seen this done. And *Pliny*, in his natural history, mentions it as practised by the Magians or Druids of his time.

When a contagious disease enters among cattle, the fire is extinguished in some villages round : then they force fire with a wheel, or by rubbing a piece of dry wood upon another, and therewith burn juniper in the stalls of the cattle, that the smoke may purify the air about them : they likewise boil juniper in water, which they sprinkle upon the cattle. This done, the fires in the houses are rekindled from the forced fire. All this I have seen done ; and it is no doubt a Druid custom.

They narrowly observe the changes of the Moon, and will not fell wood, cut turf or fuel, or thatch for houses, or go upon any expedition of

importance, but at certain periods of the revolution of that planet: so the Druids avoided, if possible, to fight, till after the full moon. (*Diodor.*)

They divine by bones; having picked the flesh clean off a shoulder blade of mutton, which no iron must touch, they turn towards the east, or the rising sun, and looking steadily on the transparent bone, pretend to foretell deaths, burials, &c. This *Osteomateia* was much practised among the heathens: and the Druids consulted the entrails and bones of animals, even of human victims. (*Tacit. Annal. 14.*) I have spoken of their regard to omens.

At burials they retain many heathenish practices; such as music and dancing at like-wakes, when the nearest relations of the deceased dance first. At burials, mourning women chant the *Coronach*, or mournful extemporary rhymes, reciting the valorous deeds, expert hunting, &c., of the deceased. When the corpse is lifted, the bed-straw, on which the deceased lay, is carried out and burnt in a place where no beast can come near it; and they pretend to find next morning, in the ashes, the print of the foot of that person in the family, who shall first die.

They believe, that the material world will be destroyed by fire. So general is this persuasion, that when they would express the end of time, they say *Gu-Braith*, i.e. "to the conflagration or destruction."

The use which the Druids made of juniper, and their regard to the changes of the moon, show that they were no strangers to the virtues of plants, and the influences of the celestial bodies.

I scarce need observe that, throughout this kingdom, many places have their names, and some persons their surnames, from the Druid bards, cairns, &c., as *Baird*, *Carnie*, *Moni-bhard*, *Tullibardin*, *Carn-wath*, *Carn-cross*, &c.

Many more of the Druid customs may be seen in *Cæsar*, *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, *Amminianus*, *Marcellinus*, &c. But I have mentioned only these customs, of which I have seen manifest remains in this Province.

I shall now conclude this article with observing that any one who reads the account given by Dean Prideaux (*Con. vol. i.*) of the religion of the Magians in the east, will find that Druidism had a near resemblance of it. And it is to me no less apparent, that both Magianism and Druidism are borrowed, in many particulars, from the Patriarchal and Jewish plan of religion. I shall mention a few of these particulars:—They owned one supreme Being; used no images or statues; used sacrifices; and in high places, under spreading oaks, and with sacred fire, at first worshipped *sub dio*; afterwards built temples; compassed their altars by going *Deas-Soil* round them. The priests were instructors of youth; had their academies and schools in retired high places;

they had many ablutions and purgations ; they had a rod of office ; and had mourning women at burials. I might add several instances more in which the Druids seem to have borrowed from the Patriarchs and Jews. This Druidism was the religion of the Scots and Picts, as it was of the Gauls and Britons, before the light of the Gospel of Christ was made to shine among them. And this leads me to

SECTION II.—THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

How early, and at what particular time, the Gospel of Christ was first made known in Scotland, I will not pretend to determine. Here the Roman writers are silent. *Gildas*, *Bede*, and *Nenius* do not touch this question. The loss of the Pictish records and writings, the want of ancient records of the Scottish Church, render it difficult to throw any light on this subject. What is said of King Donald's conversion A.D. 203, and of Regulus' arriving at *Muk-Ross* (now St. Andrews) about anno 370, is very uncertain ; and yet I see it no way improbable, that in the third and fourth centuries Christianity had sure footing in North Britain. “*Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo tamen subdita.*” But as Pagan Druidism must have been gradually, and not all at once, rooted out ; so the Christian Faith must have been gradually spread. And indeed the gross ignorance which, till of

late, prevailed, and the many heathenish customs that remained in some parts of the kingdom, shew abundantly, that the knowledge of Christ advanced by very slow paces.

The first teachers and ministers of the Christian Faith in Scotland were called in the Scottish language *Keledees*. Our historians, not understanding the language, have called them *Culdei*, q.d. "Cultores Dei," and they derive *Kil*, from *Cella*, the *hut*, or "house of the teacher." But any one conversant with ancient writings, will easily discover the mistake, and find that they are never called *Culdei*, but uniformly *Keledei*; a word compounded of *Ceile* or *Keile*, i.e. "a servant, or one devoted," and *Dia* (in the genitive *De*), i.e. God, q.d. "a servant of God, or one devoted to him." A Church or place of worship was called *Kil*, because it was set apart for Divine service. When the Church of Rome dedicated Churches to their legendary saints, the word *Kil* was prefixed to the saint's name, as *Kil-Mhuir*, *Kil-Mhilie*, i.e. "dedicated to Mary and Milesius."

These Keledees and primitive Christians in Scotland, were men of great piety, and for many ages, preserved the doctrines of the true religion.

Possibly it was from the *clerical tonsure*, that the word *Maol* came to be prefixed to some names. The word signifies "a servant," and also *Bare*, *Bald*. So *Maol-Colum*, *Maol-Riogh*, is "Columba the servant, or the shaveling;"

“Regulus the servant or the shaveling.” The Irish likewise prefix the word, *Maith*, i.e. “good;” as *Maith Rechard*, *Maith Calen*, is the same as “St. Richard, St. Colen.”

I have mentioned these things to explain the names of Churches and Chapels in this Province; such as *Kil-Tarlatie*, *Kil-Chuiman*, *Maith-Rechard*, *Maith-Calen*.

Having met with nothing peculiar to this country in the primitive state of the Christian Church, I go on to

SECTION III.—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Before the 11th century, we had no Diocesan Bishops except one, viz., of St. Andrews. He was not properly Diocesan, for he was designed *Episcopus Scotiæ* or *Scotorum*. In the same century it was that Monks and Friars were brought in as a militia or an army. Yet it was not before the 12th century, and the reign of King David I. that the Roman Clergy got any sure footing. Richard, Prior of Hexham, writing *De bello Standardi* anno 1138 (the time when he lived), says of the Scots, “But they differing long from the Cisalpine, and almost from the whole Church, seemed to favour too much Peter Leo of abandoned memory, and his apostacy. But then being inspired by Divine grace, they all unanimously, and with great veneration, received the commands of Pope Innocent and his legates.”

Roman Catholics divide their Clergy into Regular and Secular. And I shall treat of both, as I have found them in this Province; beginning with

I. THE REGULAR CLERGY.

These were so called, because they were bound to live, by the rule of St. Augustine, or St. Bennet; or by some private statutes approved by the Pope. They lived, messed, and slept under one roof. These were numerous in this Province. I shall speak of them under the distinctions of Abbey, Priory, Convent, Preceptory, Ministry, and Chaplainry.

An Abbey is a society of Monks or Friars, whereof the Abbot (in Heb. *Ab* or *Abba*, i.e. "Father") is the head or ruler. Some Abbots were independent of the Bishop, and freed from his jurisdiction. These were called *Abbates exempti*. Some were invested with episcopal power, and wore a mitre, and were called "Sovereign mitred Abbots," and had a seat in Parliament. The *Abbates Exempti* might discipline and punish their Monks; but Abbots, subject to the Bishop, must submit them to his authority. We had but one Abbey in Moray, viz., that of

KINLOSS,

The Abbot of which was mitred, and had a seat in Parliament. It was founded by King

David I. 12mo Kal. Januarii anno 1150 [20 June, 1151], and confirmed by the Pope's Bull [Alexander III.] anno 1174. The Monks were of the Cistertian or Bernardine order, called *Monachi Albi*, because all their clothes were white, except a black cowl and scapulary.

King David endowed the Abbey with lands, and King William added many more, particularly all the lands of Stryla, or Strath-Yla, near Keith. I have perused a Bull * in favour of this Abbey by Honorius, anno 1216, Pontiff. 3*tio*, ratifying its lands and possessions, particularly, "The place in which the Monastery is fixed, with its pertinents; Grange of Kinloss, with its pertinents; West Grange, with its pertinents; a small farm in Crumbachin; another in Banff, Inverness, Nairn, Forres, Elgin, Aberdeen, and Berwick." Other possessions are named in the Bull, but the parchment is so spoiled, and the writing so defaced, that they cannot be read, but may be supplied as follows:—The Abbey lands, out of which Mr. Brodie of Lethin receives feu duties, are—the Barony of Muirtown; the Mill of Kinloss, Windy Hills, Coltfield, West Grange, and

* The Bull referred to by *Shaw*, the original of which he states to be in his own possession, is printed in the Appendix of his History, No. xxvi., not as is given at No. xxvii. I have compared it, word for word, with the Bull of Pope Alexander III., given at page 105 of Stuart's *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, 1862. The original belongs to Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, and was given to him by George Cumin of Relugas. *Shaw* is literally accurate for once. (ED.)

Mill; the lands of Burgie; all Hempriggs; the Crofts and House of Kinloss; Kirkton lands of Ordies; Freefield in Elchies; all Ballendallach's lands of Struthers; Meikle and Little Tanachy; Town of Forres and their fishing; Burds-Yards; Kinorth's, Grangehill's, and Coulbin's fishing; Rose of Newton's lands near Nairn; Braco's lands in Stryla; lands of Lichnet; Kinminnie's lands in Stryla; lands of Edingie; lands of Glengerrock; several lands belonging to Lord Findlater; Grange in Stryla; the lands of Ellon; besides Lethen's lands of Kinloss and the precinct of the Abbey.

The Revenues of the Abbey, anno 1561, in money, victual, &c., were £1,152 1s. Bear and meal, 47 chalders 11 bolls 1 firlot 3 pecks; oats, 10 bolls 3 firlots; wedders, 34; geese, 41; capons, 60; poultry, 125. From which was deducted—to fourteen Monks for habit; silver to each, fifty shillings per annum; for fish and flesh to each ten pence per diem; for fire, butter, candle, spicery, and lentron meat, £12; for bread and drink per annum, to each 19 bolls 1 firlot 2 pecks, and £40 to Mr. John Ferrarius for his pension, which he had under the seal of the Abbey, annually during life. (*Book of Assump.*, anno 1561 and 1563.)

This specimen shows how sumptuously these pretendedly mortified Monks lived, and much more so their Abbots and Priors.

[Ferrerius, in his *History of the Abbots*, states the Revenue in 1499, when Thomas Chrystall became Abbot, to be—from the barony of Kinloss, 114 marks Scots; from Finderen, 20 marks, from the barony of Strathily, 147 marks; from the town of Leithnot, 6 marks; from the town of Freefield, 4 marks; from Dundurcas, 10 marks; from the Church of Ellon, 252; from the Church of Awache in Ross, 72 marks; in all, 632. In grain—from the barony of Kinloss, 8 chalders, 2 bolls; from Strathily, 7 chalders; from their fishings, 2 lasts of salmon;

by feu-duties and rents from Elgyn, 2 marks; by rents from Inverness and Forres, 60 marks; all which he doubled in a few years.

There is a Charter granted by Walter, Abbot of Kinloss, in 1559, 12th September, with express consent of the members of the Convent, by which he dispenses to Euphame Dundas their lands in Strathily for the sum of £2,000 Scots, paid in ready money, with £5 10s. Scots of augmentation of rent, to be holden of the Abbot and Convent of Kinloss, for payment of certain duties and rents contained in a rental. As this rental throws some light on the value of land, with the nature of the rents paid at that period, it is inserted.

	Money Rent.			Custom Meal.			Widders Geese, Capons,			Poultry.			Long Carriages.			Custom Oats.			Ey Siller.			With services from all.
	L.	S.	D.	B.	F.	P.																
For Muiryfold,	-	-	-	5	6	8	1	2	0	1	2	6	12	■	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Boglugy,	-	-	-	3	■	4	0	3	0	1	1	3	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	11	0	
Thorntown,	-	-	-	2	13	4	0	3	0	1	3	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	11	0		
Haughs,	-	-	-	6	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	8	16	8	2	0	0	0	11	0		
Braco,	-	-	-	20	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	8	16	12	0	2	0	0	11	0		
Achindarie,	-	-	-	3	6	8	0	2	0	1	2	6	18	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Overmills,	-	-	-	2	0	0	...	...	2	6	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Multures of ditto,	-	-	-	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ale-house of ditto,	-	-	-	2	0	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nethermill,	-	-	-	5	19	4	...	...	...	12	6	■	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Multures of ditto,	-	-	-	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grange, with Tower,	-	-	-	4	0	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Clerkseat,	-	-	-	1	0	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Augmentation Rent,	-	-	-	5	10	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60	19	4	7	2	0	3½	26	53	62	38	4	2	0	0	11	0	11	...	...	...

And failing victual, there was to be paid for every boll of meal 10s. Scots, and for every boll of oats 5s. Scots, in the option of Euphame Dundass.

Ferrerius mentions that in his time there were twenty or more Monks, who, over and above their ancient allowance, received from Abbot Chrystall on flesh days four pennies, and on meagre days one penny, and, instead of oat cakes, thirty-two ounces of wheat bread daily.

It appears from Ferrerius that they had a great number of excellent buildings, but his description conveys no idea of their arrangement.] (*Survey of the Province of Moray.*)

The Abbey stood in a fertile soil at the head of the Loch or Bay of Findhorn. No doubt the buildings were sumptuous, but no judgment can now be formed from the remaining ruins. In the

years 1651 and 1652 Alexander Brodie of Lethin, proprietor of Kinloss, sold the stones to the English, and with them the Citadel of Inverness was built. (*Reg. Presbytery of Forres*).

The Abbot had a regality within the Abbey Lands. He had granges or farms, with detached Monks to oversee them, at East and West Grange, and at Grange in Stryla. I find in the writings of the family of Westfield that the Abbot had a process of spulzie against Sir Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, who died 1576, for taking out of the Abbey a laver, weighing 240 ounces of silver, and 22 feather beds, with other pieces of plate and furniture.

Upon the dissolution of the Religious Houses, Mr. Edward Bruce was made Commendator of Kinloss. The King would not want the votes of Abbots and Priors in Parliament, and therefore presented Laics to the Benefices when vacant, who, by way of commendam, enjoyed the profits and fat in Parliament. But this usufructuary possession as titulars gave no right to the lands, and therefore they got them erected into temporary lordships. Edward Bruce was created Lord of Kinloss and got the superiority of the other Abbey Lands. Ascelinus was the first Abbot; Renerius the second; and Robert Reid was the last.

KINLOSS ABBEY.

[From Abbot John Ferrerius' *History of the Abbey of Kinloss*, printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1839, we learn that King David I. was led to erect this Monastery by such motives as led him to found the Abbey of Holyrood. It is there narrated that, while he was engaged in the chase in the country near Forres, he lost his way in a thick wood; but under the guidance of a white dove (vouchsafed in answer to his prayers) he was led to an open spot, where he found two shepherds tending their flocks. By them King David was hospitably entertained, and being warned in a dream that he should there erect a Chapel to the Blessed Virgin, he resolved at once to obey the vision, and with his sword he proceeded to mark out on the green sward the outline of the building which he meant to erect.

Having been rejoined by his nobles, the King then proceeded with them to the Castle of Duffus, in the neighbourhood, and announcing to them his vision and consequent vow, he collected the architects and masons engaged on Royal works in various places, in order that the foundation of Kinloss might forthwith be undertaken. To secure the uninterrupted progress of the work, the King remained at Duffus during the summer; and when he was called away by other affairs, he procured from Melrose a Monk to whom he committed the charge of the rising Monastery, and who was afterwards made the first Abbot.

After describing the Church as being of large dimensions, and ornamented with paintings, statues, organs, and altars, he mentions the dormitories of the monks, the refectory or dining-room, the hospital, brew-house, kitchen, pigeon-house, and garden. The furniture was plentiful and elegant. There were 50 feather beds, 28 arras-coverings, and 2 sick beds. The table was supplied with vessels of pewter brought from England, very costly. The library contained the Old and New Testaments, in six volumes, with the glosses commonly in use; four volumes of Vincent; three of the Chronicle of Antoninus; three of the epistles of St. Jerome; the Works of St. Jerome, in five volumes; the Works of SS. Ambrose, Chrysostom, Gregory, Bernard, Aquinas; Scotus' Com-

mentary on the Sentences; St. Aquinas' Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul; St. Augustine on the City of God, and on the Trinity; *Jus Pontificium*, with glosses; many volumes of sermons; and two vellum Missals.

Some of these books are still extant in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

In July, 1528, an unprecedented inundation at the Abbey is recorded, which filled the Refectory, the Chapter-House, and the Cloister with water.

Ferrerius has recorded the acquisition of many silver vessels by the Abbots—"phialæ," "calices," and "scyphi"—which may now figure, like Nebuchadnezzar's, as sugar basins and drinking cups at the carousals of lairds and lords. These vessels once were consecrated to God for the use of the Altars of the Monastery.

Seal of the Monastery.—A very pretty mediæval design representing the adoration of the infant Saviour by the Magi. The Blessed Virgin is seated crowned, holding in front the God-Man, also crowned, with the right hand uplifted in benediction. An angel and three Monks are adoring. In the centre is a crescent, for the Moon. Above is a large pentagonal Star of Bethlehem.  "S' COMMVNE : MONASTERII : DE : KYNLOS." (A.D. 1574, C. Innes.)

Another is given in H. Laing's *Catalogue*:

A fine seal, of an oval shape, in excellent preservation, and the only instance yet met with of Municipal Seals assuming the *Vesica Piscis* form. A full-length figure of the Blessed Virgin and infant Jesus beneath a canopy, both crowned. On the plinth supporting the spiral pillars is the top of a Crook, ornamented. "S' REGALITATIS DE KYNLOS." (From the original *Matrix* in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.)] (Ed.)

[The army marched to Kinloss on the 13th of September—the 9th, as stated by Lord Hailes, having most likely been the date of the arrival of the advanced guard. This Abbey, in which Edward now took up his abode, was an establishment of Cistercians or white monks—so called from the white cassocks which they wore during divine service. It comprised an Abbot, a Prior, a Sub-prior, and 23 Monks. The Abbot was mitred and had a seat in Parliament. Richard, who held this office in 1289, was present, by virtue of the rank which he thus enjoyed, at the meeting of the Estates of the kingdom at

Brigham in that year, and affixed his seal to the Letter of the Community of Scotland, directed to Edward.* His successor, whose name is not given, and who is merely mentioned by his official designation of "le Abbe de Kinlos," swore fealty to Edward in 1292. He died in 1303, but whether before or after the arrival of the King at the Abbey is not stated. This Religious House, founded by David I. in 1150, had been richly endowed by him and his successors, William the Lion, and Alexander II.

And it thus possessed at the time of Edward's visit to it, extensive property, comprising the fertile plain between the river Findhorn and Alves; the lands of Burgie; Dundurcas, on Speyside; the estate of Grange in Strathisla; and Ellen, in Aberdeenshire, besides fishings on the Findhorn, mills and houses in several royal burghs in the kingdom. The Abbey afforded in its cloisters, refectory, dormitories, kitchen, and other domestic offices, the accommodation and conveniences common to such establishments. But besides these, it had, doubtless, like other Religious Houses of the same rank, its locutorium or parlour, where the monks met to converse with each other; its Scriptorium, where their books were transcribed, and the writing of documents was executed; its library; its treasury, where the abbey seal, its charters, and church plate were kept; its hostelry, where strangers were entertained; its almonery, where alms were distributed among the poor; and its infirmary, where the sick belonging to the Abbey were attended. Its Church, which was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, had a nave, transepts, choir, and a lofty central tower, as in Cathedrals, and was fitted up with altars and ornamented with images and paintings. Its foundations can still be traced; and those also of the chapter-house, which stood near it. The latter edifice, which was supported by six pillars, is said to have been pulled down for the sake of its building materials in the last century.† "Half the gateway and the couples of several of the roofs," which were then to be seen, have also disappeared. The only parts of the ancient buildings now remaining, are one of the walls of the cloisters on the west, two fine Saxon arches on the south, and a portion of a building having an upper storey

* Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. ii., p. 474.

† Gough's *Additions to Camden's Britannia*, vol. iii., p. 429.

with a ground roof, supposed to have been the prior's chambers, on the east. The ruins, when visited by Pennant in 1790, afforded "specimens" as he states "of the most beautiful Gothic architecture, in all the elegance of simplicity, without any of its fantastic ornaments."* A little to the south of these ruins are the remains of a large house, of which the east gable and a portion of the wall are standing. It is arched or vaulted beneath, and has all the appearance of being a building of the 16th century. The Abbey, possessed within its own domain, all that was necessary for the support of its inmates. Adjoining it were its orchard† and garden, well stocked with fruit trees, vegetables, and medicinal herbs ; also, its mill, brewhouse, and dovecot ; while at its neighbouring grange or farm, containing many fertile cornfields and rich meadows, were well filled barns, and cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry in abundance.

The Religious Houses of England, in the 13th century, were, in consequence of their great wealth, frequently subjected to the heavy expense not only of entertaining the King, when he travelled, but also of providing forage and transport for his army when he marched through the kingdom. Abbeys of Royal foundation were also liable, unless they held by frank-almoigne, to be burdened with corodies, or the maintenance of such aged soldiers, servants, or dependants, as the King might choose to billet or quarter on them. The practice of exacting supplies from Religious Houses, had been observed since the time of William the Conqueror, who invariably quartered his troops on monasteries, and obliged the monks to find provisions, by which means, it is said, he maintained his army without charge. These Houses, we are further told, were long afterwards saddled with the expense of finding carriage for the baggage of the army. It was seemingly in accordance with this usage that Edward now took up his quarters in the Abbey of Kin-

* Pennant's *Tour through Scotland*, vol. i.

† Orchards were cultivated about the residences of the clergy and nobility in Moray at an early period. Allusion is made to the King's orchard at Tarnaway in 1371 (*ex parte boreali de nostri pomerii de Tarnaway*). *Reg. Ep. Morav.*, p. 474.

The Castles of Kyneder and Spynie had each its orchard.

loss. According to Chalmers, buildings on the English plan—most probably temporary wooden barracks—were erected for the accommodation of himself and his troops. The supply of provisions and forage necessary for so large a body of men and horses as were now assembled here, must have been a heavy tax, which it required all the resources of the monks to meet. It is likely, indeed, that even these resources were insufficient for the purpose, and that the whole of the lower part of Moray was laid under contribution for supplies. Though there was a commissariat attached to the army, as appears from the circumstance of large stores of wheat, oats, pease, and dried and salt fish having been purchased and laid in for the campaigns of 1299 and 1300, yet the expense of provisioning the troops on the present occasion was entirely borne by the Abbey of Kinloss and the neighbouring country.* Judging from one item of expenditure—viz., that of sixty chalders of malt, which Ferrarius mentions as having been consumed in the brewing of ale during Edward's residence at the Abbey—it may be presumed that the quantities of oats, barley, pease, hay, and straw, and the numbers of cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, this Religious House had to furnish, were proportionally great. Edward appears to have been accompanied during his expeditions by a large household establishment. It is stated that, among the servants who attended him in the campaign of 1300, there were fishers with their nets. Doubtless he had now not only these caterers for his kitchen, but also a staff of butchers, bakers, cooks, butlers, and confectioners, who were able, with the assistance of the purveyors of the household, to supply the royal table, during the march, with its ordinary luxuries and delicacies. Of the details of his reception at Kinloss—or of

* In 1280, when Edward was preparing to invade Wales, he sent orders, according to Adam de Fulham, for the purchase of 100 barrels of sturgeon (*estigonum*), and 5000 dry and salt fish of Aberdeen. The word *estigonum* however is supposed to be erroneously written for *isiciorum* (*salmon*).—MacPherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. i., p. 422.—Large quantities of herrings were purchased for his garrisons in Scotland between 1299 and 1300. It also appears from the *Wardrobe Accounts*, (pp. 121 to 151), that wheat, oats for malt, and pease, were bought at the same time.

the manner in which he and his suite were lodged by the Monks—there is no account extant. In the early part of the 16th century, the Abbey was fitted up with paintings, carved furniture, arras, and couches or beds of silk ; but it is uncertain whether it had, with the exception of the tapestry, any of these articles of luxury at the time Edward paid his unwelcome visit to it. There is little doubt, however, that a Religious House, enjoying the wealth of the Abbey of Kinloss, and superintended, as it was, by an ecclesiastic invested with the episcopal insignia of the mitre and crosier, and having precedence or rank before barons, possessed, notwithstanding the rigid rules of the Cistercian Order, an establishment which rivalled that of the highest nobles of the land, and afforded the means of entertaining even a royal guest in a manner befitting his exalted station. Edward issued letters tested at Kinloss, 19th of September [T.R. apud Kinlos, xix die Septr.], addressed to the Sheriff of York, in favour of Christopher Seton and John Botturte, Lord of Mendesham. He also granted letters of safe conduct, tested at the same place on the following day [T.R. apud Kinloss, xx die Septr.], to Alexander Baliol and others. On the same day (20th of Septr.) he held a Council, during which he addressed a letter to Philip, King of France, complaining of an act of piracy which some of his subjects of the port of Calais had committed on a vessel—the Goldingi Mayden of Gippeswic [Ipswich]—belonging to Roger de Barum de Filchan, a wool merchant of England. He states that these pirates had attacked the ship on the high seas, whilst she was on her way to certain ports in Brabant, and that they had, after killing some and imprisoning others of the crew, seized the vessel and cargo. He reminds Philip that these acts of piracy constituted an infraction of the treaty of peace which had lately been concluded between them, and demands the immediate release of these in prison, and that full indemnity should be made to the owner and crew for the losses and injuries which they had suffered.

On the 10th of October, Edward was at Kinloss, whither he had returned on the previous day from Kildrummie Castle. Here he issued a writ under the Privy Seal—[Teste Rege apud Kynlos, 10 die Octobris,* Per

* Rymer's *Fœdera* (new edition), vol. i., p. 939.

breve de Privato Sigillo,] addressed to Roger Brabazon, William de Bereford, Roger de Hegham, Randolph de Sandwick, and Walter de Gloucester—commissioners appointed to inquire into a robbery of the King's treasury at Westminster, which had been broken into in the previous month of May, and plundered of money to the amount of £100,000, and of plate and jewels. This large sum is said to have been collected by Edward, to enable him to carry on the war in Scotland. The Abbot, 48 Monks, and 32 Lay-brothers of the Abbey of Westminster, had been committed to the Tower of London on suspicion of having been concerned in the burglary. And it was in consequence of the accused having now presented to the King a petition—in which they denied all knowledge of the crime imputed to them, and prayed that, as they had been falsely and maliciously charged and imprisoned, they might be speedily brought to trial, and have justice done them—that this writ, appointing the above-named commissioners, and empowering them to take evidence on oath, both of knights and others within the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, according to the usual forms of law, was issued by Edward at Kinloss on the date before mentioned.

There is little information extant in regard to the measures which Edward adopted at this time for the government of the kingdom. All that is known on this point is that while residing in Lochindorb, he appointed officers as governors of the castles and towns that had surrendered to him [in castris et villis firmatis universis sibi redditis suos ordinavit ministres.]* These officers, as might naturally be supposed, were all English—

“ Schyreffs and balyheys maid he them
And allyrn other officers,
That for to govern land affars,
He maid of Inglis nation.”†

They are further mentioned by Barbour, from whom these lines are quoted, as having exercised their authority with great rigour and cruelty towards all classes of people in the nation.

Edward was at Elgin on the 11th of October. While

* Fordun (a Hearne) p. 989.

† “The Bruce,” by Barbour.

the greater portion of his army was now engaged in subduing the northern counties, he was, after a sojourn of twenty-nine days in the province on his way to the south of Scotland. His route thither is not mentioned. It is stated by Tytler that it was on his return from the north that he besieged Brechin, but it is evident from the dates mentioned in the *Itinerary*, that this could not have been the case, as he was at Kinross on the 10th, Elgin on the 11th, and Dundee on the 20th of October; and he could not possibly, therefore, have been employed for twenty days at this time in carrying on that siege. This castle, consequently, must have been, as already stated, invested and assaulted by him on his march towards the north, before he reached Aberdeen in August. He was at Dundee on the 20th of October, where, as already mentioned, he issued a writ on that date. He next visited Balgarvie, near Scone, on the 22nd and 23rd, and appears to have passed thence to Camyskenel [Cambuskenneth], where he remained till the 7th of November. There is some ambiguity in regard to his movements after this date. In the *Itinerary* he is represented as having been at Kynloss [corrected Kinross] on the 10th of November; but, it may be stated as a corroboration of the former and not the latter being the place really meant, that there is on record a writ addressed to Roger Brabazon and the other parties already named,* ordering an inquiry into the robbery of the King's Treasury at Westminster which is *tested* and dated at Kynlos on this day—[Teste Rege, apud Kynlos, de 10 die Novembris.] Considering, however, that the other public document relating to the same robbery was drawn up at Kinloss on the 10th of October, it is probable that there is here an error in the date of the latter writ, and that both were issued at Kynloss on the same day, viz., the 10th of October. It may, therefore, be presumed that Edward did not return to Moray in November; but that after his visit to Cambuskenneth Abbey he proceeded to Dunfermline, which he is said to have reached on the 11th of November. The Queen joined at this place, and here, in the splendid Abbey of the Benedictines, they took up their abode, and continued to hold their Court till the first week of February.]—(Taylor's *Edward I. in the North of Scotland*.)

* Rymer (new edition), p. 960—Prynne, p. 1005.

ABBOTS OF KINLOSS.

1. *Ascelinus*, or *Ascelyn*, or *Anselm*, of Mellifont or Fountains. Died in 1174, March 1.
(Walcott calls him, at p. 276, *Scoti-Monasticon*, "Joscelyne."?) (ED.)
 2. *Reinerius*, or *Nerius*. Subsequently a Monk and Abbot of Melrose, 1188. Died 1219.
 3. *Radulphus*, or *Ralph*. Abbot of Melrose, 1194.
 4. *Hugh*. Died 1217.
 5. *Andrew*.
 6. *Alexander*, Abbot of Deir. Died 6th Sept., 1222, and was buried in France.
 7. *Ralph*. Died 23rd October, 1228.
 8. *Robert*, Abbot of Deir.
 9. *Richard*. Died 15th Oct., 1241.
 10. *Herbert*. Resigned in 1251.
 11. *Henry*. Died 10th November, 1251.
 12. *Thomas*. Died 11th February, 1258.
 13. *Symon*. Died 18th April, 1269. (Monastery burnt.)
 14. *Richard*. Died in England returning from Citeaux, 1274.
 15. *Andrew*, formerly Prior of Newbottle, 1274.
 16. *Richard*, Abbot of Deir. Died 15th July, 1289.
 17. *Thomas*. Edward I. was his guest 20th September to 10th October, 1303. Died 1321.
 18. *Adam* of Deir.
 19. *Richard*. Under this Abbot, William, Earl of Sutherland, bestowed on Kinloss the Hospital of St. John the Baptist of Hebnisden. Patrick was Prior of the House, and by desire of the Abbot made two journeys to Rome about certain disputed lands. Died in 1371.
 20. *Adam of Teras*. Lived in concubinage and had issue. Buried under a sculptured stone, before the Presbytery, in 1401. He erected the Abbot's Hall.
 21. *William Blair, LL.D.* Abbot of Kinloss from 1401 to 1430, when he became Abbot of Cupar in Angus, where he was formerly a Monk. In 1419 he deposed John, Abbot of Culross, on account of his incontinency; and in his time the Abbot of Pontigny came to Scotland on a mission from the Heads of the Cistercian Order, "that he might perhaps repair the collapse of religion."
- Died in 1445.

22. *John Flutere*. Lived in office 10 years, when in 1440 he was degraded for his incontinency. He bought, at great cost, the silver pastoral staff which the Abbots (mitred) afterwards used at Mass. In his time the Cistercians were banished from Pluscardine and the Benedictines introduced in their place. Two of the Cistercians were sent to Kinloss, one of whom, after showing his unchastity, was transferred to the Monastery of Deir, where he died in old age.

23. *John Ellem* brought to the Monastery a choice altar-piece and two silver candlesticks for the High Altar, with a third of bronze, at which the Gospel is read, as also several dalmatics and chasubles. He built a vaulted entrance to the cloister, and made preparations for building a Bell tower, but was prevented by his death in 1467.

24. *James Guthry* was a B.D., and erected the Bell tower which his predecessor had projected, and placed on it a spire; and in his improvements, having fallen short of money, he sold the organs, which were afterwards at Forres (Walcott says *Forfar*?), and a basin and ewer of silver, afterwards at Dunfermline. He would also have sold the fine painting of the High Altar had he not been prevented by the vicars of Spynie and Elgin, both of the name of *Ellem*. After a time he selected William Galbraith to be his successor at Kinloss, simoniacally. For pretending old age he squeezed from Galbraith a large sum, in the hope of being made Abbot of Cupar-Angus, in which he was formerly cellarer or butler. It turned out that he could neither retain Kinloss nor obtain Cupar. He died of chagrin at Forfar in 1482 and was buried there.

Under him was David Eliot, a Monk, who purchased or transcribed various vols. of Ritual. He also bought for the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist an *Image* and a *Chasuble*. Another of the Monks was William Butters, who, in anger, committed homicide by striking a boy in the cloister. He went to Rome with another Monk and obtained letters of absolution, a copy of which he sent home to the Abbot, but neither he nor his companion returned.

25. *William Galbraith* was Subchanter of Moray when he was selected by the above Abbot Guthry to be his successor. He was the first who sent to Rome for Papal

Bulls—(from *Bulla* a seal or stamp appended to the Pope's official edict or mandate, hence the *Edict* or “*Bull*” itself). Prior to this the Abbots were canonically elected by the suffrages of the Monks and the confirmation of the Abbot of Melrose. The cup of this Abbot, having a silver hoop, continued to be used at the Abbot's table at Kinloss. He died in 1491, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Peter in the Abbey.

26. *William Culross* was very devout and corpulent, but nevertheless active in fleshly pleasures and venery. He was very handy in planting and grafting trees and other like work, and wrote several treatises on Ritual for the use of the House. He died on the 28th December, 1504, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Thomas in the Abbey.

In 1515, John Gordon was excommunicated for pillaging the sacristy at midnight on the 27th December. A few years later, on Whitsun-Eve, the MacIntoshes murdered 15 men, besides ravishing many matrons and maidens, within the Church of Dyke.

27. *Thomas Chrystal*. “But that was an affair of greater moment which was carried on [by Thomas Chrystal, the 27th Abbot of Kinloss, A.D. 1499] in defence of his Monastery against Alexander Gordon, Earl of Huntly, for seven years, with no less prudence than perseverance. Alexander desired that the field of Ballaoht [Baloch], in the barony of Strathisla, which the Monks and Abbot of Kinloss held, should be annexed to his possessions; and, as he had no right in the case, he more than once threatened the Abbot with death for contending for his just right. But not even by those terrors could the Abbot be induced to yield to the Earl—indeed, at the mention of death he always undauntedly reverted very wisely to former times. At length, after infinite labour both of mind and body, and a very severe contest, the Abbot obtained the end desired; and, in memory of this case, the Earl Alexander executed a public instrument of his giving up his claim, to which also his seal was attached, as may be seen in Kinloss.

To this most complicated business was added the affair of Agnes, sister of Alexander, Earl of Huntly, whom memory says was formerly the wife of James Ogilvy of Finlater. She had begun a strong contention with the

Abbot about land at Strathisla, called Hawinthe; but the vigilance of the Abbot immediately repressed this flame, nor was she able to strive long, for the case at once fell to the ground. So the matter returned to the Abbot very meritoriously.

I will note below certain magnificent edifices which were erected by this Abbot Chrystal. The first that occurs is what is now to be seen in the lands of his Monastery, or rather the barony of Strathisla [a territory stretching from the Knock Hill to the Balloch]. There he constructed a sufficiently large and no less strong House from the foundation, in the shape of a Castle or Fortalice, in the year of the Saviour Christ 1525. To this House he added, before the half doors, a porch with a stone stair. Afterwards he built an elegant kitchen for the cooks for preparing the rations, and round about the tower he repaired the old and decayed buildings for various future uses. He built two mills at Strathisla and placed in the Chapel at Strathisla a by no means contemptible statue of the Divine Virgin and Mother on a pedestal.

The one mill was at Old Newmill, being the *Upper*, and the other at *Nether Mills*, beautifully situated.

As the affairs of mortals are frail, I desire by this hastily collected compendium of acts to make it as it were a small present to my senior master, Thomas Crystall, Lord Abbot of Kinloss, on the first of January. Behold how so often death prevents our attempts! He was already advanced in years, and in the height of summer fell into a dropsy, which, however, the labour of the physicians reduced to tumours only in the feet and legs. And there was hope that after a time he would overcome it, and end his life by paralysis. But it turned out far otherwise. When he grew ashamed of the swelling he was prevailed on by his friends to commit himself to the care of the most skilful in the medical art. By their advice he called in the very celebrated Mr. Hector Boece; who, when he saw him, gave no hope of his restoration to health; in order, however, to humour the patient, and in some degree his friends also, he gave some prescriptions most suited to the disease. In vain, however, all in vain; indeed, the disease became more virulent and moved the tumour of the legs to the higher parts and to the bowels.

When the physician ascertained this, he tried to remove the accumulations and the hardness of the belly by clysters and issues. But not even in this way did he succeed, for on the night that followed the fourth of the Calends of January (between the 29 and 30 December), about 11 o'clock, in his tower of Strathisla, this very excellent man, Lord Thomas, departed this life. [1535.]

But that any one reading this may the better understand the piety of the man, we shall put on record some further particulars.

In the first place, he was very solicitous that there should be a consultation with the people committed to his charge in both baronies before he died. In each of them he discharged in perpetuity much of the annual payments, and to most of the rest he made various grants.

Then, three days before his death, he most religiously fulfilled the Brief of the Supreme Pontiff Paul III., by which it was decreed that Confession being nightly performed and a three days' fast, and the most Holy Communion received, Christ's faithful should obtain pardon of all their sins.

In the article of death, having first been anointed with the sacred ointment, he often implored mercy of the most gentle Jesus, and begged of his domestics to pardon him in His name who for us hung upon the Tree, if at any time he had treated them harshly. And frequently he called upon the divine Jerome, whom he chiefly held among the Saints as his patron while he lived, that, being cleansed from the stains of all vices contracted in this world, he might commend him to the Lord Jesus. Lastly, when speech failed him, he very, very often kissed the type of the Crucifix, and with uplifted hand repeatedly fortified himself with the sign of the Cross. And while the praiseworthy man was showing such tokens of true piety, he yielded up his spirit to Christ.

And to sum up the whole matter in a few words—he was born in the year of our Lord fourteen hundred and seventy-eight; and coming out of the eighteenth year of his age, he became a candidate of the Cistercian Institute, under the Lord Abbot of Kinloss, Lord Williard Galbraith; then at the expiry of a year he professed the Rule of Divine Benedict, and in due order was shortly advanced to the Order of Priest; being nominated to the sacerdotal

character under the Bishop of Ross, in the last week of the Fast of Lent, on the third day of Easter [Tuesday in Easter week], immediately after he had been initiated he celebrated his first Mass. This happened under the novitiate of David Spens, whose instructor (being then a Deacon), in what regards the ceremonies of religion, Lord Thomas was. But after some years, and for a good reason, he was declared Abbot of the Monastery of Kinloss by Lord William Culross; and being anointed Abbot by the Bishop of Brechin, by name Meldrum, on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, he returned to his Monastery; and again on the Feast of the Assumption of Mary, the Blessed Virgin and Mother, he first celebrated the Sacrifice on his promotion to the office of Abbot with great but not the less religious splendour. But from that time he was wholly occupied in managing his Monastery, in contending with adversaries, in restoring buildings in ruins from old age, in constructing and erecting new houses, in purchasing as well for the use of his own family as for the Sacrifice, silver vessels and sacred vestments, in the exercise of discipline among the Monks, and in an infinity of such like works.

When he saw from his age that he was hastening to death, which is common to all, that he might provide for the future, in the sixtieth year of his age, he appointed as the future Abbot a man in every way most celebrated, and a Subdean of the Church of Moray, Mr. Robert Reid, now my mecenās. After the election of his successor he lived seven years, less or more. From the year in which Lord Thomas first saw the light till the last day of his life he completed sixty-seven years. And on the third of the Calends of January he was carried by night to the Monastery and buried in the sepulchre built by himself near by the High Altar. *REQUIESCAT IN PACE.—AMEN.*" (Translation from *Ferrerius' History of the Abbey of Kinloss*, in Latin. Edinburgh, 1839. Given also in Dr. Stuart's *Records of Kinloss*, 1872.)

Seal of Thomas, Abbot of Kinloss.—A full length figure of a Monk, with a pastoral staff in his right hand and a breviary in his left. At the dexter side is a mullet, and at the sinister a crescent. "SIGILLU ABB[ATIS] DE KYNLOS." (Appended to Charter of the Patronage of the Church of Ochiltree, in Kyle, to the Abbey of Melros, A.D. 1316.)

28. *Robert Reid* was born at Akynhead, in the parish of Kinneddar, his father being John Reid, who fell at the Battle of Flodden; he was the 28th Abbot of Kinloss. In 1538 Alexander Ogilvie of Finlater, the successor of the former, revived the old settled dispute with this Abbot about the territory called *Hawinthe* in Strathisla. After various debates before the King and Parliament the Abbot regained his suit.

In 1533 he was sent by the King, along with William Stuart, Bishop of Aberdeen, on an embassy to Henry VIII. for a peace between the English and Scotch, which was arranged. On various occasions he received from King Henry, gifts of many silver vessels. He was, in 1535 and in 1536, sent to France on missions about the marriage of James V. In 1538 he erected a spacious fire-proof library at Kinloss, and adorned his Monastery with many new buildings. In 1540 he built the nave of the Church at Beauly, and restored the bell tower, which had been destroyed by lightning. He brought from France a gardener who was expert at the planting and grafting of fruit trees, and who was also skilled in surgery; who lost one of his feet in a sea fight against the Spaniards near Marseilles. In 1538 Abbot Reid invited to Kinloss a celebrated painter, Andrew Bairhum, who was occupied for three years in painting altar-pieces for three Chapels in the Church. Although appointed Bishop of Orkney, he still retained the title of Abbot of Kinloss. To his liberality is owing the foundation of the College of Edinburgh. He died at Dieppe on the 15th Sept., 1558.

Seal of Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss.—Beautifully executed design of a full-length figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary and infant Jesus, with a ball in his hands, signifying the world. In the lower part of the seal is a shield charged with a stag's head erased, the shield supported by a pastoral staff. “SIGILLU ROBERTI ABBATIS MONASTERII DE KYNLOS.” (c. A.D. 1550.)

—*Detached Seal. C. Innes.*)

In 1544 is recorded the burial of James, Earl of Moray, at Kinloss, before the High Altar, in the middle space between the “gradus confessionis” and where the Paschal candle stands.

29. *Walter Reid*, nephew of the former, was admitted to the office of Abbot of Kinloss in 1553, and was the last. He subscribed the first Covenant in 1560, and

alienated a great part of the Abbey lands of Kinloss, as well as those of the Priory of Beauly. He married Margaret Collace, a daughter of the house of Balnamoon, by whom he had several children. He was dead on the 1st January, 1589, when in a submission signed by Margaret Collace, who is described as relict of Walter, Abbot of Kinloss.

30. *Walter Hetton*, precentor, became Prior of Beauly.

MONASTERY OF ST. MARY AT STRATHISLA OR GRANGE.

The Abbots of Kinloss had in Grange a Castle in which they frequently resided, built on the top of a small mount, partly natural, partly artificial, surrounded by a dry ditch, upon the south side of a rising ground, overlooking extensive haughs, and the small River Isla meandering through them for several miles. Of this Castle there now remains nothing but a heap of rubbish. At the foot of a small natural mount, called *the Lady Hill*, adjoining the eminence on which the Castle stood, is a spring called *the Lady Well*. Another spring on the south bank of the Isla, directly opposite the Church door, is called *the Croik Well*. *The Gallowhill*, a small hill lying north of the Church, is so called because it was the place of execution for criminals tried and condemned in the Abbot's Regality Court. (*Stat. Acc. of Scotland*, vol. ix.)

On the north shoulders of the two Ballochs (the *Little* and *Muckle*), between the *glacks*, is the famous spot where an Abbot of Grange challenged Tam Gordon o' Riven (who had "a lucken han," i.e., webbed, having the fingers joined like the toes of a duck or goose) to decide a dispute about certain lands. Tam o' Riven slew the Abbot. The scene and localities are graphically (barring blunders) portrayed in a scarce brochure by John A. Cameron, Banff, printed in 1849.

The Rentall of the Abbey of Kynlos · (A.D. 1574.)
The Baroniae of Straithylay ·

Item, the mains and landis of Straithylay, with tour, fortalice, and orchard of the samyn, The Clerk Sett, Boglugy, Thornetoun, Hauches, Murifald, Brakhall, Cairnhillis, Cairgleithe, Auchindanery, Ouir Mylne, Nethir Mylne, and mylne landis of the samyn, sent for j^c xxij lib. xv s. j d.

Item, the landis underwrittin, videlicet, the landis of Millegin, Garwotwod, Eister Cranokis, Newland thairof, Westir Cranokis, Eister Croylettis, Westir Croylettis, Ethres, the half landis of Ballnamene, Fortrie, Newland of Fortrie, the ouer sett and nether sett of Kilmanitie, the landis of The Clerk Saitt of the west syde of the burne, the landis of the xix oxingange of The Knok, sett for j*c* lxij lib. iiiij s.

Item, the remanent of the Knok, extending to xij oxingange, set to the tennentis for yeirlie payment of xij lib. xvij d. iij bollis, iij firlotis custume meill; iij bollis, iij firlotis custume aittis; iij wedderis, iij quarteris wedder, viij caponis.

Item, the landis of Auchinhovis, with the pendicles, Glengarock and Mengreowis, sett for lxxij lib. v s. ij d.

Item, the landis of the hauches of Kilmynytutie sett for v merks, vi s. viij d., tua firlotis custum meill, and ane boll of custume aittis, ane wedder, ane guis, thrie caponis, and thrie pultrie.

The landis of Kelliesmonth, Toirmoir, and Nether Kylyaneddy, sett for xxxvij lib. xvij s.

The landis of Pethnik, sett for vij lib xj s., viij caponis, xvj pultrie, and twa geis.

Item, the landis of Edingeith, with the pendicles, sett for xix lib. vij s. viij d. xj s. ryne marte silver, ij geis, viij caponis, xvj pultrie.

The landis of Over and Nether Cantlie, sett for viij lib. xi s., ij bollis of custume meill, ij bollis custume aittis, ij wedderis, viij caponis, xvj pultrie, xi s. ryne marte silver.

Item, the landis of Fluris, and the landis of the auld toun of Ballamene, sett for yeirlie payment of ix lib. ix s. v d., ij firlotis custume meill, ij firlotis custume aittis, half ane weddir, xij geiss, iij caponis, iij pultrie, ij s. ix d. in ryne mart silver.

Item, the landis of Windhills, calit the Sauchy town, sett for the yeirlie payment of vij lib. xiiij s. viij d., v s. vj d. in ryne marte silver, ij bollis custume meill, ij bollis custume aittis, ij wedderis, xij geiss, xij caponis, xij pultrie.

Item, the landis of Over Hauchies of Kelleismonth, sett for the yeirlie payment of iiij lib. xx d., ij bollis meill, ij bollis aittis, j wedder, j guis, iij caponis, vj pultrie.

Item, the landis of Lynnache, sett for payment of vj lib.
vij s. iiiij d.

Item, the Newlands of Millegin, callit Jonettis Scheill,
with Straibknow, sett for the yeirlie payment of xx s.

Item, the Lady land, sett for yeirlie payment of iij lib.
vj s. viij d.

Thir ar to be deducit of the money victuallis aboue
specifiet :—

Item, to the baillie of Straithylay for his fie, x lib.

Item, to the officiar of Straithylay for his fie, xl s.]
(*The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, &c.,* by the Editor.)

I now go to

THE PRIORIES.

Of these we had three, viz.:—At Urquhart, Pluscarden and Kingussie. At first the Prior was but the ruler of the Abbey under the Abbot, who was *Primus* in the Monastery, and the Prior was no dignitary. But afterwards a mother Abbey detached a party of its Monks and obtained a settlement for them in some other place, and becoming a separate Convent a Prior was set over them; and their house was called *Cella Grangia*, or *Obedientia*, denoting that they depended on a superior Monastery. This was called a *Conventual* Prior, and was a dignitary; but a Prior in the Abbey was only a Claustral Prior. The oldest in this Province was

THE PRIORY OF URQUHART,

Founded by King David I., anno 1125, in honour of the Trinity. It was a cell of Dunfermline, planted with Benedictine or Black Monks,

of the Order of Fleurie. King David endowed it liberally, granting “to the Church of the Holy Trinity of Urchard, and to the Prior and Brethren there serving God, Urchard, two Finfans, and Fochabers, by their right divisions, a commony of pasture to animals, one fishing in Spey, twenty shillings in the Burgh of Elgin, and to the *Lordshipmen* in Fochabers a right of the fishing which belongs to Tain, and the teind-cane of Argyle, Moray, and of the Pleas, and of the whole rent of the same Argyle, also Penic, near Erin, by its right divisions, and the shealings of Fathnechtin, and all the rights which the Monks of Dunfermline were wont to have in Moray.” All the lands now called the Lordship of Urquhart, the village and lands of Fochaber, the lands of Penic near Aldern, the lands of Dalcross, a fishing on Spey, pertained to this Priory, as did the patronage of Urquhart, Bellie, and Dalcross.

The revenues of this Priory were not given up anno 1563, so I can give no account of them. The Priory lands were erected in a regality. The building stood in a hollow north-east of the Church of Urquhart, but scarce any vestige thereof remains. In the year 1565 Alexander Seaton, son to Lord Seaton, was made Commendator of Pluscarden; and 3rd August, 1591, he was created Lord Urquhart, and Earl of Dunfermline anno 1605. But Earl James being forfeited anno 1690, Seaton of Barns claimed the

Lordship of Urquhart, and about the year 1730 it was purchased by the family of Gordon.

PRIORY OF URQUHART.

[No vestige now remains to mark the locality where it stood, save an ancient well, which is still known by the name of the "Abbey Well." This Priory was a Cell of Benedictines of the Abbey of Dunfermline, and was endowed with a considerable extent of land in the neighbourhood, comprising the two Finfans and what subsequently constituted the Lordship of Urquhart. The Monks are mentioned as performing the offices of religion to the inhabitants of Meft, Innes, Sallescot, Byn, and Garmach,* and as receiving for their services three-fifths of the tithes of these places, the other two-fifths falling to the share of the rector of Eskyll, to whose parish these places were then considered as belonging. Of the baronies in this part of the country, the one of which earliest mention is made is the estate of Innes and Easter Urquhart [Inees et etherurecard],† which was granted by Malcolm IV. to Berowald the Fleming in the previous century, and the possession of which was confirmed to Walter de Innes, the grandson of that noble, by Alexander II. in a charter dated at Cullen on the 20th of Jan., 1226.‡

The lands of Meft had been granted by William the Lion to the grandfather of a noble, named Eugenius, who proved before a court in the reign of Alexander III., in 1263, that this property was not a thanedom, and thus succeeded in obtaining its recognition as a barony. It was possessed by a son of this Baron at the time of Edward's visit to Moray.

Urquhart was governed by a Prior, who, in 1343, was sufficiently independent to settle the obligation of the Priory to pay the expense of serving the Chapel of Kilravock; but in 1358 the Abbot of Dunfermline asserted that the Prior could not be elected without his sanction. In 1429 there is a letter from Columban, Bishop of Moray, authorising the Commissioner of the Abbot of Dunferm-

* *Reg. Ep. Morav.*, p. 102.

† *Reg. Ep. Morav.*, p. 453.

‡ *Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Note to Table of Contents), vol. ii., p. 20.

line—the King's assent having been also obtained to the Commission—to inquire into, correct, and reform the Priorate and Prior of the Abbot's Cell of Urquhart, on account of some crimes come to the ears of the Abbot. The Bishop at the same time addressed a letter to the Prior of Urquhart, Andrew Raeburn, informing him that the Abbot intended, by his Commissioner, to hold a visitation of the Priory, and requiring the Prior to attend it. What faults the Prior of Urquhart had committed does not appear, nor the result of the visitation.]

(Taylor's *Edward I. in the North of Scotland.*)

[The grant referred to at page 183, is confirmed by Popes Alexander III., 1163; Lucius III., 1182; Gregory IX., 1234. There is a Charter granted by Robert Keldelecht, Abbot of Dunfermline, between 1240 and 1252, of the lands of Kildun, near Dingwall, in Ross, with all their pertinents, to Richard of Moray, and his heirs, for his making an annual payment at the Feast of the Nativity of the blessed John the Baptist, "in our Cell of Urchard, to the Superior of it for the time being," which is sealed and attested by the Chapter of Dunfermline. And there is another somewhat similar Charter to a different person by Abbot Alexander de Berwick, between 1321 and 1353. In 1358, in the reign of David II., and the Pontificate of Innocent VII., and the incumbency of John, Abbot of Dunfermline, a protestation is issued concerning the Priory of Urchard.

The south and east parts of the parish of Urquhart were erected into a temporal Lordship, and given by James VI. to his favourite courtier, Alexander Seton, from which he took one of his titles (Baron of Urquhart), in 1591. He afterwards became Chancellor of Scotland and Earl of Dunfermline. He sold the Kirk Lands of Durris, which were a part of the lands of the Priory of Urquhart, to Mark Dunbar, in 1592, reserving the patronage and the teinds; and Dunbar disposed the whole barony of the parish of Durris to Sir John Campbell of Calder, 4th August, 1608, who, in 1610, purchased from Dunfermline the patronage of Dalross and the patronage and teinds of Durris. The Earl of Dunfermline mortified 12 bolls of meal, to be paid out of the Mill of Urquhart, as the salary of the School of Urquhart.

The rest of the property of the Priory of Urquhart was bestowed by William II. on Livingstone, Viscount Kilsyth, whose estates were forfeited in 1690, and himself attainted in 1715. His portion of it was subsequently purchased by the Duke of Gordon, and now belongs to Lord Fife.

The patronage of the Churches of Urquhart, Bellie, and Dalcross belonged to this Priory. The Kirk of Urquhart was a parsonage, and dedicated to St. Margaret, the mother of the founder of the Priory. The Priory lands were erected into a regality, and in 1535, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and George Dury, Commendator of the Monastery, appointed four persons to hold Justiciary Courts of the Regality of Dunfermline, below the Lordship of Urquhart and Priory of Pluscarden.

The Priory was situated in a field a little to the east of the Parish Church. The *Abbey Well* is the only memorial that remains. About 1345 this Cell, as well as that of Pluscarden, fell into disorder, and the Pope having commissioned some of the Bishops of Scotland to inquire into the irregularities, it was soon after separated from Dunfermline and conjoined to Pluscarden. At and before the Reformation, the Priors began to feu out the lands, reserving only in their own possession the manor, places, and mills; the revenue which by that method they drew from thence, if we take into account the teinds and multures, would even at this day be nearly equal to a moderate rent. In 1654, the greater part of the materials were carried off to build a granary near the shore at Garmouth, the remainder, soon after, was employed in repairing the manse and enclosing the churchyard. (*Old Stat. Acct. of Scotland.*)

The following paragraph is taken from the *Glasgow Herald* of 30th January, 1866:—

A man ploughing ■ piece of moss ground on the farm of Clockeasy, parish of Urquhart, last week, struck what he took to be a tree root. A short time afterwards, Mr. Taylor, the farmer, went with a spade to dig out the root, when he discovered that it was a square piece of oak, with planks of the same wood morticed into it. The next day three went to work to find out the secret, and, when they had dug round about it, they found it to be 4 posts, 6 feet square, all boxed up with planks, which were morticed into the posts, each of which was 9 inches square. On investigation being made as

to what was within this planking, some bones were found and a lot of earthen vessels, which at one time had had handles, eight of which were turned quite distinct. There was also found a lead plate and some other articles, and it was observed that there had been one shelf round the square enclosure within the planking. The place where this discovery was made is between the moss and a piece of rising ground. Our correspondent says there had once been buildings near the spot, which they call the Abbey. It seems to be the place where the old Priory of Urquhart stood, in a hollow to the north-east of the village of Urquhart. Not a vestige of this Religious House now remains, nor has it been visible for about seventy years. The *Old Statistical Account of Urquhart*, published in 1795, says that the site of it had lately been converted into an arable field, and the name of the "Abbey Well," which the country people still give to the well which supplied the Monks with water, was the only memorial of it that then remained. It is likely the discovery will be found to have some connection with the old Abbey.

There are several Priors of this place mentioned in the two Chartularies of Moray, which are still preserved amongst the curious collection of manuscripts belonging to the Faculty of Advocates; for Richard, Prior of Urquhart, subscribes the fixing of the Cathedral of Moray at Spynie, and the foundation of eight Canons settled there by Bishop Bricius, brother to William, Lord Douglas, in the reign of King William the Lion.

PRIORS OF URQUHART.

1. *Richard* is noticed as in office in 1203, 1212, and 1221, in *Wilkin's Concilia*, p. 533. He subscribed the fixing of the Cathedral of Elgin at Spynie and the foundation of eight Canons settled there by Bishop Bricius, brother to William, Lord Douglas, in the reign of King William the Lion.

2. *Thomas* was present at a Synod of Andrew, Bishop of Moray, held at Elgin in 1232, and was Sub-Legate for composing a difference between the Bishop of Moray and David of Strathbogie.

3. *William* is noticed in the *Register of Moray*, pp. 36, 103, 461-2.

4. *John*, in 1248, appears in the *Register of Dunfermline*.

5. *W. de Rathen*, 1260-86, appears in the *Registers of Dunfermline and Moray*.

6. *John Blak*, 1353, cellarer, having lost the Abbotship of Dunfermline, he became Prior of Urquhart.

7. *Robert*, 1369, was present at a Synod called at Elgin this year, “de decimis solvendis de plaustris ducentibus in eremio.”

8. *Adam de Hadyngton*, 1388.

9. *William de Busby*, 1390. In 1388 he appealed to Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, against Alexander Bar, Bishop of Moray, for an unjust appointment to the Priorate of Urchard.

10. *Andrew Raeburn*, 1429.

11. *William de Boyis*, 1454-62.

As the Revenues of this Priory were not returned in 1563, no account of them can be given. They were seized by the Crown and granted partly to Court favourites and partly as rewards to the Champions of the Reformation.] (*Monasticon*, by the Editor.)

Next erected was

THE PRIORY OF PLUSCARDEN,

Which was founded by King Alexander II. 1230, in honour of St. Andrew, and named *Vallis Sti Andreæ*. [In a Bull by Pope Urban in 1263, the rights and privileges which had been conferred upon it are confirmed; and it is termed *Monasterium Vallis Sancti Andreæ*.] It was planted *Monachi Vallis Caulium*, a reform of the Cistercians brought into Scotland by Bishop Malvoisin of St. Andrews, and settled in Pluscarden, Beaulie and Ardchatton. They were different from the Camaldulians, or *Monachi Vallis Umbrosæ*, who were properly Hermits. Of the *Monachi Vallis Caulium*, only the Prior and the Procurator were

allowed to go without the precinct. The monks of Pluscarden, at first independent, afterwards becoming vicious, the Priory was reformed and made a cell of Dunfermline.

By the munificence of our Kings and great men, the Priory became very rich. The whole valley of Pluscarden, 3 miles in length, in the parish of Elgin; the lands of Old Mills, near the town of Elgin; some lands in Durris, and the lands of Grangehill [now Dalvey] belonged to it. At this last place the Prior had a Grangia and a cell of monks. Likewise the mills of Old Mills near Elgin pertained to the priory. The town lands were thirled to those Mills, and *Omnia grana crescentia cum allitis et invectis*,* were to be grinded at these mills. King Robert Bruce also gave the priory a fishing on the river of Spey.

The Revenue of the Priory, as given up anno 1563, was as follows:—£525 10s. 1½d.; wheat, 1 chalder 1 boll 2 firlots; malt meal and bear, 51 chalders 4 bolls 3 firlots 1 peck; oats, 5 chalders 13 bolls; dry multures, 9 chalders 11 bolls; salmon, 30 lasts; grassums, cain, customs, poultre, &c., omitted. Deducted anno 1563, to ilk ane of five monks in kething and habit, silver £16: and to ilk ane in victual, 1 chalder 5 bolls *per annum*.

[The following is a collated list from the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*:—Lordship of Pluscarden, £262 16s. 2d. money; Baronies of Farnen and Urquhart, 31c. 10b. victual. Fishings, besides 30 lastis, intromitted with by the Sheriff of Moray, allegand him to haif the samin in feu-farme. Kirk of Pluscarden, £100 and 7c. 11b. victual; Kirkis of Urquharde and Bellie, 28c. 10b. 1f. 1p.; and in money, with the vicarages of the samin, but out of use of payment during this instant

* Translation.—All the growing corns, with such as were brought and ground there. (ED.)

controversie and trouble. Kirk of Durris and Dalcons, £122 0s. 8d.; Mills of Forres, £46 13s. 4d.—4c. 6b. victual. The Scotch money must be reckoned at only $\frac{1}{2}$ of the value of our sterling coin of the same name. The wages to the master, cook, porter, baker, gardener, and malt maker, was 14 bolls to each.] (ED.)

The buildings stood 4 miles south-west from the town of Elgin, near the entry of the valley, at the foot of the north Hill, which reverberating the sunbeams renders the place very warm. The walls of the precinct are almost entire, and make near a square figure. The Church stands about the middle of the square; a fine edifice in the form of a cross, with a square tower in the middle all of hewn asher. The oratory and refectory join to the south end of the Church, under which is the dormitory. The Chapter House is a curious piece of workmanship; an octagonal cube, whereof the vaulted roof is supported by one pillar. The lodgings of the Prior and cells of the monks were all contiguous to the Church. Within the precinct were gardens and green walks. In a word, the remains of this Priory shew, that those monks lived in a stately palace, and not in mean cottages.

The Prior was Lord of Regality within the Priory lands, and had a distinct regality in Grangehill, called "The Regality of Staneforenoon." At the Reformation, Sir Alexander Seaton, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline, was anno 1565 made Commendator of Pluscarden. He dispossed the Church lands of Durris, with the

patronage and the lands of Grangehill, and the Barony of Pluscarden and Old Mills, 23rd February, 1595, to Kenneth MacKenzie of Kintail, who got a *Novo Damus*, dated 12th March, 1607, of that Barony. “With all and sundry the teinds-sheaves of the whole lands and barony, with their pertinents, which were never separated from the stock, and of which the Prior and Convents and their predecessors, were in possession in all times past.”

May 9th, 1633, George of Kintail, brother and heir of the said Kenneth, disponed the barony to his brother Thomas M'Kenzie; from whom Sir George MacKenzie of Tarbet evicted it, by a charter of apprising anno 1649, and disponed it anno 1662 to the Earl of Caithness and Major George Bateman. The Earl transferred his right to the Major anno 1664; and the Major sold the whole barony to Ludowick Grant of Grant anno 1677. Here let it be remarked, that Alexander Brodie of Lethin, father-in-law to Grant, paid the purchase money £5000 sterling, and Grant possessed Pluscarden only as tutor or trustee for his second son James, and in 1709 resigned in his favour. From the said James Grant (the late Sir James), William Duff of Dipple purchased it anno 1710; and now it is the property of the Earl of Fife.

[The walls, &c., of the Abbey of Pluscarden, though unroofed, are almost entire, and in good preservation.

The Church was cruciform, having a saddle-back Tower rising in the centre. The whole buildings are worthy of the minutest study. In its general outline this Priory resembles very much the Abbey of Melrose, only it is smaller and less ornamented. The walls of the Church are lofty, and their high-pointed roofs reached almost to the topmost ledge of the tower walls. Great variety is shown in the disposition of the lights. The lines of these, especially of the choir windows, are singularly elegant. On the arch leading from the body of the Church to the choir are still seen the remains of paintings with which the walls were ornamented, consisting of delineations of the moon and stars, and part of a figure with an eagle on his arm, supposed to be St. John writing the Book of Revelation. The beautiful red sandstone of the neighbourhood has formed the materials of the Priory, and has well resisted the action of the elements. The entire walls of this large structure are completely covered with ivy, even to the top of the tower walls; and it is doubtful whether it does not now present a more picturesque object than when in its pristine grandeur. The arched kitchen under part of the dormitories has been fitted up as a place of worship for the members of the Free Kirk in the neighbourhood. In it has been placed a very fine old Pulpit, removed from old St. Giles', in Elgin. Other portions have been formed into a shooting-box for the Earl of Fife, and others are fitted up annually as a dancing-hall, &c., for the Volunteers! The garden is now chiefly a nursery.

There were several Chapels—1. of the Dead; 2. of St. Jerome; 3. of St. Lawrence; 4. of St. Mary; 5. of St. Ann, on the north-west side of the nave; 6. of St. Peter; 7. of the Holy Cross; 8. of St. John, Evangelist; 9. of St. Andrew; 10. of St. Thomas; 11. of St. Bernan; 12. of St. Mary Magdalen.]—(ED.)

[The first edifice that presents itself is the Church that was originally intended to have been built in the form of a Cross. The foundation of the western transept has been laid but never finished. The plan of the whole had been repeatedly changed, as appears by the windows. Its dimensions are :—

		Feet.	Inch.
Length of the Church from north to south, -	-	94	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
(On the east has been a suite of aisles.)			
Breadth of the Church within the aisles, -	-	27	8
Breadth, including the aisles, -	-	46	10
Length of the eastern transept, -	-	56	1
Breadth of Do., -	-	26	4
Contiguous to the Church, on the south, is the Lady's or Virgin's Aisle, extending from east to west,	56	1	
This long, narrow vault is in breadth, -	-	13	0
To the south of the Lady's Aisle is the Chapter- house, supported by a clustered pillar, an elegant room, illuminated by four very large windows. It is about 30 feet square.			
Contiguous to this, on the south, is a vaulted lobby, leading to a cloistered court on the west.			
Beyond this, to the south, is the kitchen, a large room, supported by two pillars. Its Length,	45	6	
Breadth,	29	8	
Beneath the southmost half of the kitchen was a large vault, employed as a cemetery. The vault has been thrown down long ago, but the hollow space it occupied, and the doors leading to it, are to be seen.			
Contiguous to, and at right angles with the kitchen, on the west, was the refectory, a large hall, in length about -	-	94	0
Beneath this there was a range of cellars.			
On the west of the Lady's Aisle and Chapter-house, &c., was a cloistered court, for enjoying the benefit of the open air in rainy weather. Its south wall formed by the north wall of the re- fectory. It was in -	Length -	99	8
	Breadth -	94	4
Along the roofs of the Lady's Aisle, and Chapter- house, and kitchen, was the Dormitory. In			
Length -	-	114	2
Breadth -	-	29	8
It was divided by a passage in the middle into two suites of bed-chambers, in number about 13.			
At the south-east corner of the kitchen stood the Prior's house, communicating with the Church by a door in the south-east corner of the Dormitory, the passage in the middle of which led by another door to the Church.			
Immediately above the east gate of the gable of the			
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	Feet.	Inch
Lady's Aisle was a chamber in which the Prior spent the forenoon generally.		
Contiguous to the north side of the east transept, and communicating with it by a door, was the Vestry, a vaulted building.	In Length - - - 16	0
	Breadth - - - 16	0

The garden was well stored with fruit trees of the best kinds. A fig tree continued to blossom in it within these few years. A stream of water was conducted within the precinct wall that drove the mill for grinding their corns.

The Prior was Lord of Regality within the Priory lands. In 1565 Alexander Seton, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline, was Commendator of Pluscarden. He sold, in 1595, to Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail the Church lands of Durris, Grangehill, and the barony of Pluscarden, with Old Mill, including the *decima garbalia*, or teind sheaves of the barony. In 1633 the barony and Old Newmill were the property of Thomas, son of Kenneth Mackenzie. From him Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet obtained them in 1649, who disposed them to Major Bateman. Janet Brodie, wife of Ludovick Grant of Grant, bought them in 1677 for her son James, afterwards Sir James Grant of Grant, who sold them in 1710 to William Duff of Dipple, and they remain the property of the Earl of Fife.] (*Survey of the Province of Moray* and ED.)

[Pluscardine is a beautiful early English and decorated Minster, with later additions. A fragment of the south wall of the nave, possibly never completed; an aisleless choir, 56 feet 8 inches long by 27 feet broad, covered with masses of woodbine and ivy; a square Chapel, of the 15th century, on the north side; the aisle of the transept, 92 feet 6 inches long, retaining its groined vault, with two Chapels on its wing; a central tower, with trefoiled windows inscribed in a triangle, and saddle-backed gables; and the north wing of the transept, a fine composition, resembling Hexham, with a round window in the gable, are spared. The dormitory steps remain in the south wing, and also a door to a bridge from the dormitory. The choir has traces of diaper work, and a credence on the north side, with angels supporting a vat, into which they are pressing clusters of grapes; a most beautiful and

suggestive design. The Tabernacle shews angels holding the pyx; and two others, with a shield, representing the Sacrifice of the Mass, offered to the heavens—a tree-stock for earth, a fish for water, a winged thunderbolt for fire, and a winged caduceus for the air—in French Cathedrals the four windows facing the points of the compass are called after the elements. There is no triforium. The clerestory consists of three circles sunk in spherical triangles. There are six exterior consecration crosses in circles, one west of each wing of the transept, and four in the choir wall. There were formerly similar examples at Trinity College, Edinburgh. There is one at St. Andrews. Of the conventional buildings, the refectory; the basement of some of the offices; the steps of the dormitory leading down into the south wing of the transept; the square Chapter House, 28 feet square, with a central pillar, four bays of groining, a fine double portal and lateral arches, and traces of mural decoration from the Apocalypse, which are minutely described by Cordiner,* with some portions of the Abbot's lodge, remain. The slanting orifice in the sacristy wall was used by the Acolytes who prepared the tapers, and lighted them on a signal from the transept; a small adjoining cell was probably used for penitential discipline. The cloister was 100 feet square.]—*(Walcott's Scoti-Monasticon.)*

PRIORS OF PLUSCARDEN.

1. *Symon*, Prior of Pluscardine, in 1239, witnesses the Charter by which, among other churches, the Church of Fernua, formed out of the Byset parish of Dunballoch, was granted by the Bishop of Moray to the canons of Elgin. In 1263 Pope Urban IV. granted a Bull to Pluscardine. He after the example of Gregory, of happy memory, takes the Monastery under the protection of the Blessed Peter and himself. He appoints that the Monastic order which has been instituted in the Monastery according to God and the rule of St. Benedict, and the institution of the Brethren of Valliscaulium should for all times be observed there. He confirms the grants made to the House, especially the place where the Monastery is situated, with all its appurtenances; the Church situated in the town, called Durris (Dores), with the tithes of sheaves of the same

* Cordiner does not describe these. (ED.)

place ; the right of patronage in the Church ; the tithes of sheaves in the forests of Pluscardine and Wthutyr ; the tithes of the mills placed in the same forests and of the iron dug in the same ; the right of fishing with twenty nets in the Spey ; and the mill with the stream, which the monks have in the town called Elgyn. The lands and possessions in the places commonly called Fernauay, Thulidoui, Kep, the Greater Kintessoch, and Mefth, are confirmed ; also the land and forest called Pluscardin and Wthutyr. Nobody is to take tithes from their gardens, underwoods, fishings, or meadows. The Monks may receive to conversion these flying from the secular power. There are the usual restrictions against leaving the House without the Prior's license ; and against any Monk or lay-brother being surety, and borrowing money ; leave to say the holy Officers during an interdict, and no Prior is to be placed at their head except he who is chosen by the majority. The Bull is dated at Viterbo, 3rd July, 1263.

Symon seems to have been a long time Prior, for Dominus Symon, Prior de Pluscardine, is witness to a charter by John, the son of Malcolm de Moravia, which Mr. Innes puts down as of the date 1284, and which is witnessed by William, Earl of Sutherland, and William, Earl of Ross. In his time the Monks of Pluscardine arranged with the burgesses of Elgin that the Monks should have the lands which lay between the two mills of Elgin in lieu of an obligation on the town to repair the mills and stanks, with which the burgh was then burdened. The convention is dated St. Nicholas' Day, 1272. Patrick Heyrock was provost, and Hugo Bisset one of the burgesses ; and Hugo Herock, in 1286, has *Simon*, Prior of Pluscardine, as a witness to his endowment of the chaplains of St. Nicholas and the Holy Cross at Elgin. By 1330 the Heyrocks have become treasurers of the Church of Moray, and the controversy between the town and the priory is now as to the multures. The Monks are to have the 17th vessel or vat of corn in lieu of other multures.

2. *Andrew*, became Prior of Newbottle in 1264.

3. *Simon*, 1286.

4. *John Wyse*. John, Bishop of Moray, and Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, in a Cathedral Chapter of the Church of Moray, held on the 10th of October, 1345, having

before them, summoned by the Bishop of Moray, *John Wyse*, the Prior, Adam Marshall, the Sub-Prior, and William of Inverness and Adam Young, Monks, of the House of the Vale of St. Andrew of Pluscardine, interrogate them, and extract from them this statement—That from the first foundation of the House of Pluscardine, as they have heard from their predecessors and seen in their own time, the Bishops of Moray for the time being, as often as they thought fit, had exercised the right of visitation and correction, institution and deprivation, over the Priors and brethren of the House of Pluscardine, and received procurations; and the Prior and Monks admitted that they had no exemption or privilege against this right, which was now, and had been from time beyond memory, exercised by the Bishops of Moray. Nor was this all. Sir William de Longo Vico, a Monk of the Rennard Valley, of the diocese of Toul, as nuncio of the Order of the Valliscaulians, and proctor of the Prior of the House of Valliscaulium in the diocese of Langres, stated that the Bishops and diocesan Archbishops, as well in Germany as in other parts beyond the sea, in whose diocese Houses of the Valliscaulian order were situated, down to this time had exercised, and now exercise, in their dioceses, the right of visitation and correction over these Houses, and received procurations. There were present the Chancellor and Official of Moray, the Chancellor of Glasgow, the Treasurer of Dunkeld, and the Canons of Moray, specially called to be witnesses.

The House of Pluscardine had further troubles in connection with their multures. Robert de Chisholm, who was Lord of Quarrywood, near Elgin, refused to pay multures to the Prior. The House appealed to the Bishop of Moray, and Alexander Bar, the then prelate, issued a monition to Sir Archibald Douglas, Knight, in April, 1390, in the following terms:—

“ Honourable and Noble Sir,—You and John de Kay, Sheriff of Inverness, have determined a certain process in such manner, as God knows, to the grievous injury of the Priory of Pluscardine, and to the great prejudice of the jurisdiction of the Church, which we crave to have by you recalled; for we assert and declare that Alexander, King of Scotland, of pious memory, gifted to the Prior and Monks of Pluscardine the mills of Elgin and Forres and other mills depending on them,

and the mulctures of the lands of those mills which he then received, or ought to have received, as they were for the deliverance of his soul, which mulctures of the lands, when arable by virtue of the donation, the said Prior and Monks have received, likeas they yet without dispute receive; and whereas the mulctures of the lands of Quarrywood, in the Sheriffdom of Elgin, at that time unimproved, but now reduced to cultivation, belongs and appertains to the mill of Elgin, from which it is scarcely a mile distant; because, if it had been at that time cultivated, the mulctures would, and ought to have been received by the royal granter."

The complaint, after stating undisturbed possession, with the knowledge and tolerance of Robert de Chisholm, knight, during the preceding reigns, "further asserts and declares that the said Robert had seized and bound a certain husbandman of the lands of Findrassie (Finrossie), to whom the Prior had by contract let the said mulctures, and thrown him into a private prison, by which he directly incurred the sentence of excommunication." The complaint proceeds to shew cause why the action could not be determined by the civil, but by the ecclesiastical court, and concludes by threatening to excommunicate the civil judges if they attempted anything further by which the Priory might be wronged or the jurisdiction of the Church marred.

5. *Thomas.* On the 16th of April, 1390, *Thomas*, 1367, Prior of the House of Pluscardine, records a solemn instrument of protest against the proceedings of Sir Robert de Chisholm. The Prior and the Knight, however, attest a Charter of John of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, to the burgh of Elgin on the 1st of May, 1390, by which the Earl discharged to the town for ever the ale of assize belonging to him, as constable of the castle of Elgin.

Quarrywood is in the parish of Spynie, and is so called from a rich quarry of freestone in these lands. It belonged in 1365 to Sir Robert Lauder whose grandson, Sir Robert de Chesholme, then Constable of Urquhart Castle (to whom John Randolph, Earl of Moray, had given in 1345, the lands of Invermoriston and Lochletter in Glenmoriston, and Glenurquhart), in January, 1365, married his daughter to Rose of Kilravock. Shaw wonders that Sir Robert Lauder could be alive when his great-grand-daughter was married, but the Lauders of the Bass were a stout race,

and he was not only alive, but able to enter into a deed with his grandson in 1366.

Sir Robert de Chisholm's method of taking the law into his hands against the Church was a month after outrageously exceeded by Alexander Stewart, the "Wolf of Badenoch," who burned Elgin and the Cathedral on St. Botolph's Day, 17th June, 1390. It seems that among the Bulls, apostolic letters, public instruments, charters, and other writings burned with the Cathedral, were those by which the rights of the Priory of the Valliscaulians at Pluscardine, and its privileges, and statutes, and foundations, could be manifested. Pope Benedict XIII. in 1404, issued a commission to the Bishop of Aberdeen to inquire for any other copies of the evidences burdened, but it does not appear that those of the House of Pluscardine were collected. Whether the Prior succeeded in rescuing his mulctures we cannot ascertain, but the plea of exclusive jurisdiction set up by the Church when the temporal rights of a Monastery were in dispute is not likely to have been sustained. In 1388, the appeal of a Monk of the Priory of Urquhart in Moray against the investiture of a Prior of Urquhart by the Bishop of Moray, was finally decided by King Robert III., and the clergy in Parliament on the 12th March, 1391.

The mode in which the election of Priors and their confirmation by the Bishop was managed, is shown by what happened in the Priory of Pluscardine in 1398. Thomas, the head of the House, on the 7th August, 1398, resigns the Priory into the hands of the Bishop of Moray; on the 13th of the same month the senior Monk announces to the Bishop that Alexander de Pluscardine, one of the Monks, was unanimously elected Prior; that the Te Deum was duly chanted after the election, and that the House in full chapter assembled craved the Bishop's confirmation. And on the Vigil of the Assumption (14th August) the Bishop issues an order that any one opposing the election should appear on the 21st of the same month; and on the 21st the election of Alexander is confirmed by the Bishop, reserving to himself and successors the right of annual visitation.

6. *Alexander, 1398.*

7. *Eugenius, 1417.*

8. *Andrew Haig.*

9. *John Benale*, Prior of Urquhart, whose convent of brethren seems to have consisted of two Monks, in 1454 petitioned Pope Nicholas V. that he would unite the Priories of Urquhart and Pluscardine. The petition stated that these two Priories were conventional, curative, and elective, and were acknowledged to be foundations of kings of Scotland; that by reason of wars, mortalities, and other calamities, the income of the Priories had so diminished that they were unable to keep up a Prior in each House with a decent and competent number of religious men, or to keep the buildings of each house in proper order, or to maintain Divine Service; so that in Pluscardine there were generally not above six Monks, in Urquhart two only. The petition stated that Pluscardine was a dependent member of the Priory of Valliscaulium in the diocese of Langres in France, and on account of the great distance of Pluscardine from Valliscaulium, and that the Priory of Urquhart, which depended on the Monastery of Dunfermline of the order of St. Benedict, were annexed and united to Pluscardine.

The Pope, on the 12th of March, 1454, issued a commission to the Abbot of Lindores and the Chancellor and Treasurer of Moray, stating the petition of the Prior of Urquhart, and authorising them to inquire into the truth of its allegations, and the consent of the King being obtained, to carry out the union. The papal Bull requires the commissioners to assign some proper compensation for the change to the Priory and Order of Valliscaulium. It asserts that Andrew Haag, Prior of Pluscardine, had resigned on a pension of £12, and appoints or authorises the commissioners to appoint John Benale Prior of Pluscardine. On the 8th of November, 1454, the Abbot of Dunfermline granted a commission to William de Boys to receive the professions into the Benedictine order, of the Monks of Pluscardine. John, who was then appointed Prior, was apparently a person of importance, for Elizabeth, Dowager-Countess of Moray, executing a deed at Forres on 20th May, 1455, says, "the said Elizabeth, Countess of Moray, in absence of her own Sele, has procurit the Sele of a worshippful fader, Done John Benolda, 'Prior of Pluscardine;'" a curious instance of the translation of the 'Dominus.'"

In November, 1456, the exchange is completed; on the

7th there is a commission of the Abbot of Dunfermline to William de Boys, the Sacristan, to visit the Priory of Pluscardine; it is addressed to John de Benaly, and on the same day, on William de Boys' resignation, John de Benale is made Sacristan of Dunfermline. On the 8th there is a letter from the Abbot of Dunfermline to the Abbot of Kinloss, informing him that John de Benaly had resigned the Priorate of Pluscardine, and requesting him to confirm the new Prior if elected. With his commission of visitation in his pocket, the influence of

10. *William de Boys* was enough to procure his election, and in 1460 we find him named William de Boys, Prior of Pluscardine and Urcharde. He did not allow the rights of his House to be violated, for in 1463 he obtained a declaration from the Chancellor of Moray that the Church of Dingwall in Ross-shire, with all its fruits, belonged to the Prior of Pluscardine. How long he continued does not appear, but in 1500, Robert is the Prior of Pluscardine. On the 3rd February, 1501, this person executed a deed, printed in the book of Kilravock, which is interesting, not only from the rarity of any documents of the Convent of Pluscardine, but also from its throwing some light on the subject of mills and multures, so constantly mixed up with the Valliscaulian Priories.

"The erecting the machinery of a corn mill," says Mr. Forsyth, "could not formerly be undertaken by any person in a rank inferior to a baron, a bishop, or an hereditary sheriff." The Pluscardine House, by this deed, thirl all the growing corn of their lands of Penyek to the mill of the Laird of Lochloy, but the annexation of the foresaid corns to the foresaid myll till indure ay and quhill we or oure successors thinks it speidful to big ane myll of our awin, or caus ony vther to big in our name a myll to grund our foresaid tennante's corneys." It concludes thus:—

"And this contract was maid at Pluscardin undir owre common Seill, with our subscriptions manuelle, the thridie day of Februar in the yere of God a thousand and five hundreitht year.

"Ego, Robertus, prior ad suprascripta subscribo.

Et ego, Adam Forman, ad idem.

Et ego, Jacobus Wyot, ad idem.

Et ego, Andreas Broun, ad idem.

Et ego, Johannes Hay, ad idem.
 Et ego, Andreas Alain, ad idem.
 Et ego, Jacobus Justice, ad idem."

11. *George* was Prior and Coadjutor to Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, in 1529 ; when also Hector Foreman was a Monk of Pluscardine, being Witness to a Donation of Bishop Gavin Dunbar, made to his Cathedral of Aberdeen, dated 28th Sep. that year, of 50 merks out of Quarrelwood, near Elgin.

12. *Alexander II.*, 1549.

13. *Alexander III.*, Seton, third son of Lord George Seton and his Lady, Isabel Hamilton (daughter of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in the reign of James V.), was born in 1555, and had the lands of Pluscardine presented to him, as "ane god-bairne gift," by Queen Mary, when she stood as Godmother to him ; and when he was afterwards at Rome, he received from her the Priory, of which his father had been *economus* and Commissioner since 17th April, 1561, an office conferred on him, in reward for his great loyalty. In 1585, Alexander was Prior,—and in 1586, he became an *extraordinary Lord*, by the style of *Prior of Pluscarty*. He was first Commendator of Pluscardine, and afterwards one of the Senators of Justice, then President. King James VI. created him Lord Urquhart, afterwards Lord Fyvie ; and, in 1605, he was created Earl of Dunfermline, and was High Chancellor 18 years. He died 16th June, 1622.

14. *James Douglas*, 1577-8, was a bastard son of the Regent Morton, and acted as *Commendator*.

15. *Alexander Seton*, again, 1585.

Seal of Alexander Seton.—A round Seal in good preservation. Three niches ; in the centre one, a figure of S. Andrew, holding his Cross before him with his right hand, and in his left a Breviary. In the dexter niche, a figure of the B. V. Mary and Infant Jesus ; and in the sinister a figure of S. Margaret, with a book in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. In the lower part of the Seal is a shield, bearing within a double tressure.

The Book of Pluscarden (*Liber Pluscardensis*) recently published, edited by Felix J. H. Skene, is in Latin, with an English able Preface, and is founded mainly on Bower's

Scotichronicon. It was probably compiled in the Priory in 1461, by Maurice Buchanan, a Cleric and Treasurer to the Dauphiness.

An incongruity occurs in the Preface, stating that *Flutere was the 17th Abbot, 1445-1460.* He was not.

The Seal of the Monastery.—It is singular, emblematic of delivering souls from Purgatory. “SIGILL. CONVENTUS VALL[IS SANCTI] ANDREE IN MORAVIA.” (A.D. 1455. *In possession of the late D. Gregory.*)

THE PRIORY OF KINGUSSIE *

In Badenoch, was founded by George, Earl of Huntly, about the year 1490. Of what Order the Monks were, or what were the revenues of the Priory, I have not learned. The Prior's house and the cloisters of the Monks stood near the Church, where some remains of them are to be seen. The few lands belonging to it were the donation of the family of Huntly, and at the Reformation were justly re-assumed by that family.

I now proceed to

The Convents of Monks, Friars, and Nuns within this Province. The Monks and Friars differed in this, that the former were seldom allowed to go out of their cloisters; but the Friars, who were generally Preachers or Mendicants, travelled about and preached in neighbouring parishes. Monks at first lived by their industry, and by private alms, and came to the

* The Carmelite Friars of Inverbervy, Kincardineshire, held the Churches of Kingussie and Dunnottar. (*Jervise's Angus*, 441.) This Kingussie is not to be confounded with Kingusie, a mile from Ayr, where there was an Hospital. (ED.)

Parish Church. But a recluse life was not so serviceable to the Romish Church, and therefore Friars were under little confinement. Every Monk and Friar used the *Tonsure* or shaved crown—an emblem, they said, of their hope of a crown of glory. They vowed chastity, poverty, and obedience, besides the rules of their respective Orders. They had few Convents in this country.

The *Dominicans*, called *Black Friars*, because they wore a black cross on a white gown, were instituted by Dominic, a Spaniard, who invented the Inquisition, were approved by the Pope anno 1215, and brought into Scotland by Bishop Malvoisin. These, with the Franciscan Gray Friars and Carmelite White Friars, were Mendicants, allowed to preach abroad, and beg their subsistence. The Dominicans, notwithstanding their professed poverty, had fifteen rich Convents in Scotland. And we had their Convents at Elgin, Forres, and Inverness.

The *Franciscans*, called *Grey Friars*, wore a grey gown and cowl, a rope about their middle, and went about with pocks to beg. St. Francis, an Italian, established them anno 1206. King Alexander II. settled a Convent of them in Elgin, where they had a spacious Church and fine dwellings. Their principal house is now the seat of William King of Newmill. I may add

The *Grey Sisters*, or *Nuns* of Sienna in Italy. They wore a grey gown and a rochet, followed St. Austin's rule, and were never to go forth of their cloisters after they had made their vows. They had a Nunnery at Y-colum-kill, dedicated to St. Oran, and at Sheens, i.e., *de Sienna*, near Edinburgh, consecrated to St. Catharine de Sienna. It is probable they had a Convent at Elgin, where there are plots of land, called "St. Katharine's Crofts."

THE PRECEPTORY OF MAISON DIEU,

Near Elgin, was an Hospital for entertaining strangers and maintaining poor infirm people. The Hospital stood close to the town at the east, where some parts of the buildings remain. The lands of this Hospital granted to the town of Elgin by King James VI. by charter 22nd March, 1594, confirmed ultimo Februarii, 1620, for maintaining poor people and sustaining a teacher of church music, who shall precent in the Church. King Alexander III. mortified the lands of Monben and Kelles to this Hospital, and King Charles I., by his charter to the town of Elgin, 8th October, 1633, confirms to them, "The Preceptory of Maison Dieu, with the patronage thereof, and all belonging thereto, with the arable lands of Maison Dieu, and the crofts and pertinentes thereof; the lands of Over and Nether Monben with the haugh thereof called

Broomtown; the lands of Bogside, with the mill thereof, mill lands, adstricted multures and sequels; the lands of Cardells, Over and Nether, *alias* Pitcroy, Delnapot, Smiddycroft, with the mill, mill lands, multures and sequels thereof; with the salmon fishing on the water of Spey; and the lands of Over and Nether Pitinseir."

[THE BEAD HOUSE]

Is supported from the lands of *Maison Dieu*. The first edifice was built in 1624 to accommodate four poor men, with a small garden. In 1846 the Magistrates and Town Council erected the present neat Alms-House, but the inmates are not supplied with Beads or Rosaries, being all Protestants. The original tablet is placed on the building with the inscription—HOSPITALIUM BURGI DE ELGIN PER IDEM CONDITUM, 1624. Underneath is a pilgrim with the text—"Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in the time of trouble." REBUILT A.D. 1846. The teachers in the Academy have certain pensions from the revenues, and each *Beadman* has an annuity of £10, besides his apartments and piece of ground.

THE LEPER HOUSE

Was in this vicinity. Leprosy was common in this country during the middle ages, and there were several endowed Hospitals in Scotland for the reception of lepers. The frightful malady has been unknown for centuries. In the Town Council minutes of the 25th October, 1852, a plan of these crofts (termed "the Leper Lands") was submitted to the Board, and permission was voted to advertise these patches of ground.

The lands of *Maisondieu*, i.e., the House of God, extend from the Fochabers Road on the north to the Tyock on the south, and from Friars Croft (belonging to Lord Seafield) on the west to the Leper Lands on the east. Anderson's Institution and Easton House occupy the north end of these grounds, and other portions are being feued out by the Town Council.

The Maisondieu Hospital stood on the green mound in the field a little south of Easton House, and was burned to the ground in 1390 by Alexander, Earl of Buchan (the Wolfe of Badenoch), at the same time as he fired the Cathedral. Part of the foundations were visible several years ago, but not a stone now remains. It is intended to have the site planted with shrubs and enclosed, to prevent further encroachment.

After the *Reformation*, the Preceptory of Maison Dieu having fallen to the Crown, James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England, by Royal Charter of Confirmation dated the last day of February, 1641 (not 1620, as stated in *Morayshire Described*, p. 196), granted to the Provost, Bailies, Councillors, and community of Elgin, and their successors, the Hospice or House of Preceptory of Maison Dieu, lying adjacent to the said burgh—founded for the aliment and support of certain poor and needy persons, with the right of patronage to the same; together with all rights, &c., &c., belonging thereto, and of which the Preceptor and Biedmen thereof were in possession at any former period; together with the town and lands of Over and Nether Manbeen and Haugh of Manbeen, the lands of Over and Nether Cardels, the lands of Over and Nether Pittensear, for the support of certain poor and needy persons in the said Hospital, according to the original establishment thereof; and also to maintain and support a teacher of music, properly qualified to instruct the youth within said burgh in music and other liberal arts, and perform the ordinary services in the Church, and also to answer and promote the affairs of the said burgh, because the common revenue was barely sufficient for its own purposes. The lands of Maison Dieu were accordingly appropriated by the Magistrates for the purposes designed by the Charter. No evidence can be found that those of Manbeen, Kirdels, and Pittensear had ever been in their actual possession; but the Charter gives right to the casualties of these lands payable at the time to the Hospital of Maison Dieu, the *Dominum utile* being in the hands of lay proprietors. The lands of Maison Dieu contained 20 acres, 2 roods, and 6 falls."

THE GREYFRIARS' MONASTERY.

That noble and learned young man, Patrick Gordon,

younger of Letterfourie, communicated to me what I have got to say about the Monastery of Grey Friars here.

The Grey Friars came to Elgin about 1479, after John Innes, Bishop of Moray, had erected a Convent for them at his own expense. It is said that this John Innes was a great plunderer of Church property and an adept sower of sedition in those quarters, taking bribes from both parties and pretending to be the just arbiter of either. It happened in 1478 that the katrines from the mountains of Morayshire came down to the low countries and plundered wholesale. This unjust judge collected a great number of armed men and pursued the pillagers (having with them much cattle and corn) as far as the woods of Abernethy, where a bloody conflict took place, when the katrines, waxing courageous, turned the pursuers to flight, and slew their leader with many wounds, leaving him on the hills, and again turned back for more booty. Meanwhile the Sheriff was by all left as dead.

He had a uterine brother named Francis Innes, who had long belonged to this Order, and who frequently journeyed in company with a Priest of the same Order from the Convent at New Aberdeen to instruct the barbarians of Moray. Being cognisant of the recent affray, he, by chance, came upon the spot where his brother, the Sheriff, was lying wounded, whom he carried, with the assistance of some country people, to the nearest house, where he dressed his wounds, being skilled in the medical art. This raid was of such benefit to the Sheriff as wholly to convert him. He vowed, on his recovery, to restore the oxen and property which he had so basely acquired, and to build and furnish a Monastery for Franciscan Monks. He also restored property to the Monasteries of Pluscarden, and Urquhart which he otherwise oppressed and wronged. He used for whole days to live in the Monastery intent on pious works, and frequently kept Vigils with the Brethren, content with the meanest fare. For twenty years he lived a most exemplary life, and at last was buried in the Cathedral Church in the sepulchre of his family, after the rites of the Franciscan Order.

From the same source of information I got

1. A Bull of Pope Sixtus IV., confirming the erection of this Monastery. Dated at St. Peter's, Rome, 1479, in the seventh year of our Pontificate.

2. A Chart of Alexander Sutherland of Quarrelwood, granting to the Grey Friars permission to get down trees wherewith to build and repair their Monastery, and to have other wood for firewood in perpetuity, seeing they had no possessions or taxes to live upon; as also ordering that his forester for the time being shall cut down the requisite wood and carry it to the gate of the Monastery, and, besides, propagate young trees. The wood and lands of Quarrelwood are granted for this purpose, to be under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese. Signed by Alexander Sutherland, and by his son and heir, William Sutherland, and dated at Elgin, 28th Sept., 1480.

Francis Innes, uterine brother of the founder, was the first guardian. He taught the junior Brethren in the Convent at Aberdeen before he was appointed here. He was pious, learned, eloquent, and a laborious missioner among the rude people of the North.

Among the early disciples of this Monastery was *F. Bernard Chisholm*. He was named Counsellor of the Katrines, because he spent a great deal of his time in wandering over the mountains and trying to convert the barbarous clans from rapine and violence, which he successfully accomplished. He was elected guardian in 1490. He died in the sight of all the Brethren of the Monastery at Elgin in 1513, aged 78 years.

F. Antony Fraser, Priest, was educated among the Cistercian Monks in the Monastery of Belli Loci, but became a Franciscan, and was the constant companion of Friar Chisholm in his errands of evangelization. He had great preaching gifts.

F. Robert Stuart, when a deacon in the Cathedral Church, joined this Monastery. Being of good family, the neighbouring gentry held him in great esteem. He was educated in Brussels. On his return home he was unceasing in his office, and at length became guardian of this Convent, which he held for many years. He took great part in the controversy which arose in his time between the Conventuals and the Observantines as to a distinctive dress. He flourished in 1521.

The last guardian was *F. Antony Urquhart*, of the ancient family of Urquhart, who tried to quell the sacrilege of devastation in 1560. The Earl of Huntly, then Master of Moray, joined the Calvinian Heretics, invaded

the town of Elgin, laid waste the Cathedral Church and all the Religious Houses in the city, hounding on the mob. This Convent was burned by Alexander Innes, the grandson of the founder, after having stood 81 years.] (*Brockie's MS.* (at Blairs College), p. 9961-9984.)

[Scarcely a vestige of the Monastery of the Black Friars now remains. I find from a Charter communicated to me by Patrick Gordon of Letterfourie, that David, Bishop of Moray, gave two chalders of the best meal yearly to the *Fratres Predicatores* serving God in the Church of St. Andrew, Elgin, from the Episcopal Grange in Strathisla. The Charter is dated at the Castle of Spynie, 15th Jan., 1327. Bishop Keith states that David Moray, Bishop, died 20 Jan., 1326.] (*Ibid.*, p. 8939.)

ST. NICHOLAS' HOSPITAL

Is noticed at pages 378-79, vol i., *Parish of Dundurcos.*

DOMINICAN CONVENT OF INVERNESS.

[In the year 1508, Andrew, Bishop of Moray, confirmed various foundations in favour of the Altar of St. Michael of the Parish Church, Inverness. The foundations were made in 1455. The Bishop's confirmation concludes thus:—"In testimony of which thing, in the absence of my seal, I, theforesaid William Pylche, have procured with instance the common seal of the Monastery of preaching Friars to be appended, &c., &c., at our Palace of Spiny, October 13th, 1508."]

Upon the 23rd of December, 1508, John Auchlek was presented as Chaplain of St. Catherine's, Inverness. The deed of presentation by the Provost and Bailies ends thus:—"These things were done in the choir of the Friars Preachers of Inverness, the 12th day, mid-day or thereabouts, in the year, month, day induction and pontificate asforesaid."

(1) The Bishop here quotes the words of the founder, William Pylche.

The Seal of the Monastery was of lead, about one and a half inches in length, by one in breadth; it bore the image of St. Dominic holding a staff surmounted by a cross in his left hand, whilst his right is uplifted in the act of blessing, at his feet hangs a shield with the hound and flaming torch. Around the margin are the words—

"SIGILL: MONAST INNER^S (SIGILLUM MONASTERII INVERNESSSENSIS)" SEAL of the MONASTERY of INVERNESS. This seal is now in the hands of Mr. Robertson of Inshes, Inverness.

Of King Alexander, Lord Hailes says that "he was one of the wisest princes that ever reigned over Scotland," and, in another place, that Alexander had a particular kindness for the Mendicant Friars of the Order of St. Dominic, called with us Black Friars. For them he founded no fewer than eight Monasteries at Edinburgh, Berwick, Ayr, Perth, Aberdeen, Stirling, and Inverness.

Cardonel, in his *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*, says of the Order—Fratres Predicatores, on account of their frequent preaching, "that according to their rules the Brethren renounced all worldly possessions, abstained from eating flesh from September to Easter. They lay neither on feather beds, nor in sheets, but on a mattress; and every Saturday, in case there fell neither feast nor fast upon that day, they were to say the office of the Virgin Mary. Their habit was a white gown and scapular."

The Order was founded in Inverness in 1233, and the Monastery must have been a building of importance. It appears to have received a grant of land at an early period from Saint Thomas of Aberbrothock, which grant cannot now be traced, and also in the year 1240 a Charter from Alexander II., which was described in the year 1530 as, appearing from length of time and negligent preservation, wasted and partly spoiled." This interesting Charter is in these terms:—

"Alexander by the grace of God King of Scots, to all good men of his whole realm; greeting; Know ye that we have given, granted, and by this our present charter, confirmed to our endowed chaplains, the Preaching Friars of Inverness (devotis oratoribus nostris Fratribus Prædictoribus), serving and who shall serve God there, that, our Royal highway, lying in length from the water of Ness, as far as that land which the Abbot and Convent of Aberbrothock gave to them for ever, and in breadth from the burying ground of the Parish Church and the wall of the said Friars; and that island of our land lying on the north side of the said Friars, on the south side of the water of Ness, with the whole water and fishing from the

foresaid Friars' road as far as Scurry in pure and perpetual elemosina (alms) with all commodities, liberties and easements; to be enjoyed freely, quietly, honourably, well, and in peace for ever, sicklike as any land is given or granted to religious men in our kingdom.—Witnesses, Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, Constable and Justiciar of Scotland; Donald, Earl of Mar; Ingram de Genis; and Reginald de Schenpatre, Knight. At Berwick the 20th day of May, in the 26th year of our reign."

The first subject conveyed appears rather strange—the King's Highway. Some light is thrown upon this gift by a somewhat similar gift by Alexander in the year 1250 to the same Friars in Edinburgh of a Street, so well known for ages—Black Friars' Wynd—but in that case the condition was annexed "that the said Friars may, as it shall seem expedient, construct or erect houses or buildings in the foresaid street or passage which is called the venelle." Though the words in the Charter to Inverness are *Nostra via Regia*, yet it may really have been an open piece of waste ground, and either given for the purpose of being shut up to make the Monastery more private or in order to be annexed to their adjoining land. The vast differences now presented by the grounds from what they were at the period in question, may be to some extent realised from there being a grant of an Island to the north of their land, and the only grant whose limits can now be traced with any certainty is that of the fishing. It will be observed that the north boundary is described as "Scurry." This, however, denotes "cherry," which is well known as the next lowest shot to the Friars' shot on the River Ness. Of the Monastery there now remains but a single shattered column. The figure of a cherub, which may have been in the Monastery, and was fished out of the river some years ago in the Castle shot, some time at Campfield, is in fair preservation.

The following is taken from the Papers of Provost Inglis to Captain, afterwards General Hutton, recently discovered in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh:—

"The Monastery at Inverness was situated in a fine plain on the east side of the river. There remains of it now only one pillar, from the great size of which the building must have been extensive or the architecture very disproportionate. The ground which it covered is

now used as a burying place by a few families in the parish of the names of Baillie and Maclean, who, with their connections, seem to have acquired an exclusive right to it. They have lately enclosed it with a good stone wall. There is no monument of great antiquity in it, except the figure of a woman cut in stone and much mutilated. This Monastery has always been called by the inhabitants "The Grey Friars," although the only one of which we have an account in history was that founded by Alexander the Second, anno 1233, said to have been of the Dominican Order. Adjoining to the Monastery there is a very rich field of six acres, which was always the glebe of the first minister of Inverness. There are also a few small houses in the lane leading to it, from which the minister receives a feu or ground rent. The salmon fishing directly opposite to the Friary, and esteemed the most valuable in the river, did also belong to it, and is to this day called the Friars' Coble or Shot. It appears by the town's records that the stones of the Friars' Kirk were sold in the year 1653 to Colonel Lilburne, commanding the troops of the Commonwealth, for building a fort at the river mouth, which was called Oliver's Fort. On a rising ground, separated from the Monastery by the lane only, stood the Parish Church, a very ancient structure, which, having become quite ruinous, was pulled down in the year 1769, and the present Church built on its site. On the west side of the river, opposite to the Priory, stood the Chapel of the Green, supposed to belong to it. The lands contiguous to the Chapel were Church lands, and now hold feu of the town. East of the Monastery, and only separated from it by a single street, stood St. Mary's Chapel, of which no vestige remains. It was situated in the centre of a field about four acres in extent —now the principal burying-ground of the town, and still called the Chapel-yard. Adjacent to it was St. Thomas's Chapel, of which there remains nothing. The tradition is that when the Fort was built out of the ruins of the Monastery the stones of this Chapel were applied towards building what is called the Old Harbour, in which many stones, curiously carved, and which have evidently been in some other building, are yet to be seen. The lands of the Chaplainry of our Lady's High Altar are situated on a rising ground south of St. Thomas's Chapel,

and near to the side of M'Beth's Castle, and St. John's Chapel stood in a field below the old Castle Hill. No vestige of the Chapel remains, but the field is to this day called *Dire-na-Pouchk*, or the land of the poor, and is in possession of the Church Session. There was also a Chapel dedicated to St. Catherine the Virgin on the west side of the River Ness, but no trace of it, or any of the others, remains, nor would their situations have been remembered, but that in some old Charters the lands are described by the directions in which they lie to the Chapels.

(Signed) "WILLIAM INGLIS, Provost.

"Inverness, March 18th, 1795."

Upon the 7th of March, 1297, the payment of the pensions of the Friars of Inverness are included in the following order:—

"The King to his beloved and faithful John de Warenne, Earl of Surry, his guardian of the Kingdom and Territory of Scotland: Greeting: We command you that you search in the rolls of the accounts of the times of Alexander and John, late Kings of Scotland, for the rents of the towns of Berwick, Edinburgh, Stirling, Glasgow, Ayr, Wigton, Perth, Aberdeen, Montrose, Elgin, and Inverness, to give to our beloved brethren in Christ of the Order of *Prædicatorum* dwelling in these towns such sums of the rents of said towns for this year, of our charity and special favour, as they, by the rolls of said accounts from the time of foresaid John, appear to you yearly to have received, and to have been allowed in the rendering of the accounts of the rents of the said towns by the favour of Alexander, late King of Scotland, and of the foresaid John."

In the year 1313 King Robert Bruce granted a Charter to the Friars of Inverness of a yearly gift of £10 sterling in these terms:—

"Robert by the grace of God King of Scots,—To all good men of his whole realm; greeting; Know all present and future, that for the honour of God, and of the glorious Virgin Mary, His mother, and of the blessed Bartholomew, we have given, granted, and by this, our present Charter, confirmed to the Preaching Friars of Inverness, in gift to their Church, £10 sterling yearly, to be paid by the hands of our Provosts, who may for the time be, from the rents of our burgh of Inverness. To be had and held by the

said Friars serving, and who in future may serve, God for ever, of us and our heirs in free, pure, and perpetual charity ; and to be paid yearly, by the said Provosts of the town of Inverness, from the rents of the town as is aforesaid, at two terms of the year, viz., the one half at the Feast of St. Martin in the winter, and the other half at the Feast of Pentecost. In testimony of which matter we command our seal to be appended to this our present Charter. Witnesses.—Our beloved brother Edward de Bruce, Earl of Carrick ; our nephew Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray ; John de Monteith ; Robert de Keith, our Mareschall of Scotland ; Gilbert de Haya, and Henry de Saint Clair, Knights. At Dundee, the twenty-first day of October, in the eighth year of our reign (1313)."

In the year 1372 a strife arose between the Abbot of Aberbrothoc and the Bishop of Moray. Both parties appealed to Pope Gregory XI. In the meantime the Abbot hired mercenaries to pillage the possessions of the Bishop. They burnt the town of Inverness and the Dominican Monastery. The Abbot was excommunicated in consequence. The following is extracted from the Bishop's letter of appeal to the Holy See :—" After the cause 'twixt himself and the foresaid Vicar of Inverness had been moved and begun, spurning, omitting, and altogether contemning the ordinary path of law, in contempt, disobedience, and irreverence of my ordinary jurisdiction—nay, rather more truly for the Apostolic See, under whose special protection my foresaid Church of Murray lies—with sure knowledge, malicious design, and with intention of obtaining a worthless revenge, he placed and appointed at said Church and town of Inverness powerful laymen, whose power and ferocity could not in any way be resisted, as, for instance, the noble, and a man of great power, W. de F. (William de Fentoun or William de Foderingham), who in name and on part of said Abbot, with an armed and great host, violently entered the houses of said Vicar, breaking and causing to be broken lockfast places and doors, destroying, plundering, etc. (He tells how the roof was torn off the Churches and everything burnt or desecrated.) And I have pronounced sentence of excommunication against him (the Abbot) and declare him unlosed therefrom," &c.

The Monastery suffered at the same time, for in the

Court held by Sir Robert de Chisholm in 1376, reference was made to the destruction by fire of a Charter which lay for presumed greater safety in the house of the Preaching Friars of Inverness. A certain burgess was summoned to show deeds of right to certain lands about the town. "Whereupon the said burgess, James, protested and clearly showed that the said confirmation had been in safe keeping, along with his very many other evidents, in the custody of a late particular friend in the house of the Preaching Friars of Inverness, and had been burnt there and completely destroyed at the time of burning of said house."

In the year 1389 Euphemia, Countess of Ross, owing to the ill-treatment of her husband, Alexander, Earl of Buchan's Count of Ross, separated from him. This wicked man had earned for himself the title of the "Wolf of Badenoch, or *Alasdair Mor*." The Wolf was bound over by the Bishops of Moray and Ross to treat his wife more honourably. The sentence was read in the Church of the Dominicans, Inverness. After detailing the circumstances and terms of peace, the sentence concludes thus—"This our sentence was read, published, and pronounced in this writ in the Church of the Preaching Friars, Inverness, the 2nd day of the month of November, in the year of the Lord 1389." "Alexander and Alexander, Bishops by the grace of God of the Churches of Moray and Ross, diocesans and judges ordinary of the parts underwritten, sitting in the judgment seat, and having God only before our eyes," &c.

The Bishop of Moray had likewise many and serious differences with the Earl of Moray. These formed the subject of reference to the Earl of Fife, guardian of the kingdom, afterwards the noted Duke of Albany. This decision was pronounced within the Church of the Preaching Friars of Inverness on the 28th of October, 1389. This indenture testifieth that on the vigils of the Apostles Simon and Jude (28th October), in the year of the Lord 1389, in the Church of the Preaching Friars of Inverness, it is ordained and determined by the illustrious man, Lord Robert, Earl of Fyff and Menteith, guardian of the kingdom of Scotland, and his council, both in virtue of his office and by reason of the submission of the Lords, the Bishop of Moray on the one part and the Earl of

Moray on the other. . . . First that the kiss of peace being interchanged they on both sides for the rest, be and continue true, firm, and cordial friends, and that none of them by himself or by others do injury voluntarily to the other, and if this happen by chance he who has suffered injury shall require the party injuring to make amends, &c. Then follows the various items of agreement on both sides.

In the year 1390, on the Feast of St. Botulph, Abbot, in the month of June, Alexander, the Wolf of Badenoch, and his followers burnt the whole town and Cathedral of Elgin, with all the books, charters, and other valuable things of the country therein kept for security. Of the deeds which were saved a chartulary was afterwards compiled, and has been of late years printed by the Bannatyne Club. In this year our Convent was destroyed; whether it was again restored is uncertain. This outrage was in part repeated in July, 1402, by the same Alexander. He made reparation afterwards and was absolved.

From the accounts of the Bailies of the burgh of Inverness, rendered at Perth by Walter Androusan and Andrew Adison, in the name of said Bailies, 13th March, 1429, we gather that the exits or expenses for two years amounted to £106 13s. 4d. From this sum the Preaching Friars received annually £10—of the King's charity of old—as in full payment of said two years, as is clear by letters of receipt of the said Friars shown upon the account, £20.

Upon the 6th of November, 1436, Christiana Makferry sold to the Community of Inverness the piece of ground at the corner of Bridge Street and Church Street, whereon the Tolbooth stood, by the Charter which is indorsed "Ye Charter of ye Tolbooth." It concludes thus—"In testimony of which matter, because I have no seal of my own, I have with instance procured the common seal of the Prior and Convent of the Preaching Friars of said burgh, together with the seal of Walter Andrew, and caused them to be appended to this writ at said burgh, the 6th day of the month of November, in the year of the Lord 1436."

Upon the 4th of September, 1437, Alexander de Yle, who claimed the Earldom of Ross through his mother, made the following donation to the Prior and Friars of Inverness. This annual was with others transferred at

the Reformation to the Magistrates of Inverness, and we understand it still forms part of the revenue of the burgh. "To all the faithful to whose knowledge the present letters shall come, Alexander de Ile, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles; Greeting eternal in the Lord; Know that we, for the salvation of our soul, and for the salvation of the souls of our fathers, ancestors, and successors, have given, granted, and by this present writ confirmed to the religious men, the Prior and Friars of the Dominican Preachers of Inverness, twenty shillings of annual rent, of the usual money of the kingdom of Scotland, to be paid annually at two terms of the year, viz., of Pentecost and St. Martins, by equal portions of our land and ferry of Easter Kessock."*

Among the Inches charters is the following valuable document being a grant of the Friars of Inverness to Mr Robertson's predecessor of a particate of land in Inverness, dated 20th July, 1517. The land is that in front of the Commercial Hotel, and the buildings, no doubt, then projected into the main street, and probably included part of the present Town Hall buildings. This deed was lost for many years, but was fortunately recovered in course of the year 1873. The document is endorsed "Charter to Lawrence Robertson of the Sklait-house"—"To all who shall see or hear of this charter, Friar Henry Dewer, Prior of the Preaching Friars of Inverness; Greeting eternal in the Lord: Know that we, after mature deliberation, had with our said monastery and Friars therein, with common consent and the advantage and utility of our successors being considered and had in view, with consent of the reverend Prior, Friar John Adam, Professor of Sacred Theology, and Principal of the

* By the roll of rents, feus, and maills, it appears that a sum of twenty shillings sterling is payable by the estate of Redcastle to the burgh for the lands of Easter Kessock. With the pertinents in pure and perpetual charity, as freely as any annual rent is given and granted to any other religious men in the kingdom of Scotland. In testimony of which matter we have caused our seal to be appended at Inverness the 4th day of the month of September, in the year of the Lord 1437. These, with many others, being witnesses, viz., Tarquil M'Loyde, Lord of Leyhouse (Lewis); George Munro of Foulis; Alex. M'Culloch, and Lord Beane.

Order of Preaching Friars of all the Kingdom of Scotland, and also of the venerable men, the Friars of the Convent of our said Monastery, John Ricard, John Brown, and Alexander Andrew, and also of the discreet men after mentioned of the General Charter, viz.—Friar Andrew Mackneil, Prior of Aberdeen; James Young, Prior of Annan; John Lister, Sub-Prior of Ayr; and John Faber, Sub-Prior of Glasgow; have given, granted, set, and in feu-farm let for ever, and by this present charter, confirmed, and also by these presents give, grant, set, and in feu-farm let, and by this present charter confirm, one particate of our land, with the pertinents, lying in the burgh of Inverness, between the lands of the late Farquhar Mackintosh on the west side, and the public cross of said burgh on the east, and also the common way which leads to the bridge of said burgh on the north side, and the Castle Hill on the south, to a discreet man Lawrence Robertson, burgess of said burgh of Inverness, and his heirs and assignees whomsoever: To be held and had such, such particate of land with the pertinents by the said Lawrence and his heirs and assignees whomsoever of us and our successors in feu and heritage according as it lies in length and breadth for ever, with all and sundry its pertinents, commodities, liberties, and just pertinents as well named as not named, belonging to said particate of land, or which can in future in any way justly belong without revocation, contradiction, or retention of ours and our successors whomsoever; Giving therefore yearly, the said Lawrence his heirs and assignees to us and our successors, the Prior and Convent of Inverness, who for the time may be, four shilling of annual rent at two terms in the year by equal portions—viz.—the feasts of Pentecost, and St. Martin's in winter, together with five pence as burgh rate annually to the collectors thereof only, in lieu of every other burden, exaction, demand, or service, which for said particate of land, with the pertinents can in any way be exacted or required in time to come; so that it shall not be in the power of the said Lawrence, his heirs, and assignees, to give, grant, alienate, sell, augment, or in any way whatever dispone any part of the annual rent of said particate of land with the pertinents, to any persons whomsoever, except said whole annual rent of four shillings, without the express consent and assent of the Prior

and Convent of Inverness, who for the time may be; Also if it happen that the said annual rent of four shillings as is premised, shall be due to us and our successors, for three continuous terms, and not be paid thereafter when required, then immediately said particate of land, with the pertinents, with whatsoever shall happen to be erected and repaired thereon, with all and sundry pertinents, shall ipso facto revert to the foresaid Prior and Convent of said Monastery of Inverness, without any judicial process, ecclesiastical, or civil; and likewise it shall be in the power of the Prior and Convent for the time, to dispose of said particate of land with the pertinents for ever according to their pleasure; and we, Henry the Prior, and the Convent of said Monastery, and our successors shall warrant, acquit, and for ever defend said particate of land with the pertinents; reserving the fore-written restrictions to the said Lawrence and his heirs and assignees in form, manner, and effect, as premised.

In testimony of which thing the seal of our Chapter of said Monastery is appended to these presents together with the seal of the said Rev. Prior Principal, and the manual subscriptions of said Friars of the Convent, and of the cessioners, and also with the seal of the honourable man, John Ker, bailie of said burgh of Inverness, who, after resignation made by us in his hands, gave his heirs and assignees, hereditary state and sasine of said particate of land, with the pertinents by delivery of earth and stone; at Inverness, the 20th day of the month of July, A.D. 1517, in the 5th induction, and in the 5th year of the Pontificate of the most holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, by divine Providence, Lord Leo 10th Pope. Present there — Friar Duncan Cruickshank, Fr. Thomas Paterson, Fr. William Reid, Fr. William Thorne, and Fr. Peter Williamson; Alexander Black, Officer or Clerk, with divers other witnesses called to the premises. Said annual rent is not to be alienated without our consent or that of our successors being obtained. By testimony of this my hand I, Fr. John Donaldson, was present."

In the year 1530 King James V. granted the following charter of confirmation to the Friars Preachers of Inverness of the previous charters already given by Alexander II. and Robert the Bruce. The charter is dated at Perth, on 31st August, 1530, and is as follows:—"James, by the

Grace of God, King of Scots—To all good men of his whole land, clergy and laity. Greeting; Know ye for as much as we have examined and considered two charters, granted by our late most noble progenitors of happy memory, Alexander, King of Scots, and Robert, King of Scots, to our devout mendicant Preaching Friars of our burgh of Inverness, and whereas from length of time and negligent preservation, these charters appear wasted and partly spoiled, whereof the tenors follow, in these words.

[Here he quotes the charters given.]

“Therefore we, for ourselves and our successors, approve, ratify, and for us and our successors for ever, confirm, as above written, the foresaid charters in all the points and articles therein contained; and we will and ordain that as great and the like Faith be given to this our charter of confirmation made upon the premises, as might be given to the said principal charters, if produced in judgment. In testimony whereof, to this our present charter of confirmation, we have ordered our great seal to be affixed. At Perth the last day of the month of August in the year of our Lord 1530, and in the 17th of our reign.”

In 1538 the Prior and Convent of Inverness succeeded in vindicating their rights to the fishings granted them by the Kings of Scotland. These rights were encroached on by the burgh, as will be seen from the following notarial instrument of the proceedings of a court held by Alexander Baillie of Duncan, Sheriff of Inverness :—“In the name of God, Amen: By this present public instrument, be it clearly known to all, that in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1538, on the 28th day of June, the 11th indiction and in the 4th year of the pontificate of the most holy Father in Christ and our Lord, Lord Paul, by Divine Providence Pope III., in presence of the Notary public, and the under-subscribed witnesses, the venerable, religious man, Friar Thomas Stevenson, Prior of the Preaching Friars of the town of Inverness for the time, and the Convent of the same, the Provost, bailies of said burgh, and community occupying the salmon fishings of the river of Ness, being cited by the letters of the honourable man, Alexander Baillie, at the time Sheriff of Inverness, at the instance of the said Lord Prior of the Preaching Friars and of the Convent of the same, convened to render a reason for the unjust occupation of the fishing, by net

fishing of the western part of the river and water of Ness pertaining hereditarily to the Prior and Convent of Inverness, opposite the eastern ditch of said Friars on the one part; and on the other part there convened the foresaid Prior and his Convent having charters containing the donation of King Alexander of happy memory, and also strengthened by the seal of the now reigning illustrious King James V., of all and whole the water of Ness, with its fishing, from the road intervening between the place of the Preaching Friars and the Parish Church on the south side, even to the churry on the north; moreover both parties for themselves being heard, the right, and allegations and the complaints and statements of each being weighed, the foresaid Alexander Baillie, Sheriff of Inverness, holding the situation for the administration of Justice, being advised by the ripe counsel of his assessors, delivers and ordains the foresaid Provost, bailies, and the occupiers of the River Ness to desist and cease from all fishing and dragging of nets in time coming for ever, until they shall produce more valid evidences in judgment, and the charter of the said Friars, just shown before the said Sheriff, in defence of said Prior and Convent, and examined in judgment to be of as much force as is more fully contained in the roll of said court made thereupon; of and upon all public instruments and sundry were sought by the foresaid Lord Prior of the Notary-public, underwritten, one or more to be made for him. These things were done in the Court-house of said burgh at 10 o'clock A.M., or thereabouts, under day, month, year, and induction and pontificate as above. Present there, the honourable men, William Paterson, Provost of Inverness, Andrew Auchlek, James Dempster, bailies; Thomas Wans, John Cuthbert, of the Old Castle, and Robt. Wans, Notary-public with divers others. John Scot, Notary-public."

Evil days now fell on the Prior and Convent of Inverness, and upon the 23rd June, 1559, they were obliged to deposit their charters and gear for security with the Provost and Magistrates of Inverness. Their buildings, no doubt, soon became ruinous. Nothing is known of the fate of the effects handed over, which included "a little relic of silver;" but there are records to show that the tenements, annual rents, and other property of the Friars

were speedily divided or leased out by the town authorities among themselves:—

" This is the year that we, Friar Robert Riche, Prior of the Friars Praedicatorum of Inverness, with consent and assent of our brethren, viz.—Fr. Andro Valcar, Sub-Prior, Fr. Hendre Wisman, Fr. James Ramsaye, Fr. Alex. Kaye, delivered in keeping to religion to the foresaid Prior, our successors, brethren of our place of Inverness, to our well-beloved benefactors, to honourable and worshipful men; George Cuthbert of the Auld Castle hill; Thomas Flemming, burgess of Inverness; John Makgilive, burgess of Inverness, Provost, bailies of Inverness, as after follows:—

Item, A chalice of Silver, gilt with gold,	-	16 oz.
" Do.	Do.	Do., - - 24½ oz.
" Do.	Do.	Do., - - 23 oz.
" Do.	Do.	Do., - - 40 oz.
" A buist,	Do., for the sacrament,	- 3¼ oz.
" Two Silver Spoons, for the lozenges to the Mass,	- - - - -	¼ oz.
" A little relic of silver.		
" A box full of charters and evidents.		
" A buist, covered with leather, with charters and other writings, with other loose evidents in the chest.		
" A Chasible and a Clasp of red damask.		
" 7 Carparats and 3 cases.		
" A Chasible and two Clasps of red taffety.		
" Do. and one Clasp of Black Damask, with host stole, fannon, and belt.*		

We,foresaids, George Cuthbert, Thomas Flemming, John M'Glive, Provost and bailies of Inverness, grant us to have received the above-written gear from the said Prior and Convent and successors of the religion, and oblige us, our heirs, executors, and assignees whatsoever, that to the said Prior, brethren, and successors of Friars Predicatorum, without impediment or obstacle, we shall give, deliver to the saids Prior, brethren and their successors, the foresaid gear, whenever they require, or any unto their name pertaining to the religion whatsoever, by this our obligation we oblige our lands and heritage, heirs, executors,

* Fannon signifies the Maniple.

and assignees, now and ever, on the deliverance to them of this present obligation. Subscribed with our hands at Inverness by both the parties, the 23rd day of June in the year of God 1559 years.

George Cuthbert—Provost of Inverness.

John M'Gilive, with my hand at the pen led by George Cuthbert.

Thomas Flemying, one of the bailies of Inverness, with my hand.

Frater Robertus Richardus, Prior—manu suâ. Frater Andreas Valcar, Sub-prior, manu suâ. Frater Henricus Vyisman, H.V.F. Frater Jacobus Ramsay, manu suâ. Frater Alex. Kaye, manu suâ." (*Family of Kilravock*, p. 227, Spalding Club.)

Shortly before the unfortunate Mary Stuart was de-throned, she granted the following Charter to Inverness. In it she disposes of the property of the Friars Preachers.

"Mary, by the Grace of God Queen of Scots, To all good men of her whole kingdom, cleric and laic; Greeting; Know that we, carefully considering our duty toward the service of God, and because of the ardent zeal we have for the upholding of the State, and for the preservation of due order among our subjects, and chiefly within our burgh of Inverness; considering, therefore, that we, by our office, are bound, and ought to consider our duty toward God, by whose Providence we are placed in the government of this kingdom, and also that it is by our office incumbent on us to provide by every honest means for the ministers of the word of God, and that hospitals should be maintained within our said burgh for poor, mutilated, and wretched, for orphans and children without parents; we after our perfect age, with advice of the Lords of our secret council, have given, granted, dispensed and for us and our successors for ever confirmed to our beloved the Provost, bailies, Council, and community of our said burgh of Inverness, and their successors for ever, all and sundry the lands, tenements, houses, buildings, churches, chapels, orchards, gardens, acres, crofts, annual rents, fruits, duties, profits, emoluments, rents, alms, obits and anniversaries whatsoever, which in any way pertained or are known to pertain to whatsoever chaplaincies, vicarages, altarages, and prebendaries in whatsoever church, chapel, or college, . . . with manor

places, gardens, acres, lands, annual rents, emoluments, duties, mills, and fishings which formerly pertained to the Dominican or Preaching Friars of our said burgh. . . To be held and had, all and sundry the foresaid churches, chapels, rents, abodes of the Friars, gardens, mills, fishings thereof, and pertinents by the foresaid Provost, bailies, etc. . . . quietly, fully, honourably in peace, without revocation, or contradiction whatsoever, as fully in all as the foresaid chaplains, vicars, or Friars above written could have been able formerly to enjoy and possess the same; and considering with what great fraud a great number of said Vicars and Friars, who, after the change of religion disposed, alienated, and gifted away into the hands of certain particular men their lands, rents, &c., &c., by these presents we annul and rescind all and sundry such alienations, &c., and incorporate the foresaid lands, churches, abodes of Friars, &c., &c., into one body for ever to be called our foundation for the ministers and hospitality of our said burgh of Inverness. In witness whereof we command our seal to be appended. Witnesses —Most Rev. Fr. in Xt John Abp. of St. Andrews, &c.; our beloved cousins, George, Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon and Badenoch, our Chancellor; James, Earl of Bothwell; Lord Halis, Creichton, and Liddesdale, Gt. Admiral of our kingdom; our beloved familiar advisers, Rd. Maitland of Lethington, keeper of our Secret Seal; Jas. Balfour of Pittendreich, Clerk of the Register of our Rolls and Council; John Bellenden, Justiciary Clerk; Kt. at Edinburgh, 21st day of the month of April, A.D. 1567, and of our reign the twenty-fifth."

At the time of acquiring the lands of the Preaching Friars, Provost Cuthbert appears not to have had enough to pay for the price, and to have been obliged to borrow 200 merks from Alexander Bane of Tulloch and Agnes Fraser, his wife. The Provost rendered the mortgage in 1584, as is seen by the following instrument of redemption and renunciation:—

"In the name of God, Amen. By this present public instrument be it clearly known to all that in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, on the 29th day of the month of May, in the 18th year of the Most Serene Prince James and sixth King of that name in presence of the public Notary, and the witnesses under-written, there

compeared the honourable man, Alexander Bane of Tulloch and Agnes Fraser, his wife, hereditary owner of all and sundry the lands within the walls of the place of the Preaching Friars of Inverness, both arable and garden, removing and excepting the church and the passage to the church which lies between the water of Ness at the west, and the King's common highway at the east, and also another piece of land built upon, on the eastern side of the wall of the Preaching Friars of Inverness, between the Parish Church of Inverness and the place of the late Preaching Friars and the King's common highway on the north, and the wall of the said place of the Friars at the west, of their own mere, pure, and spontaneous will confessed, and by the tenour of this public instrument confess that the foresaid lands with their pertinents were held by them of the Provost, bailies, council, and community of Inverness, and were lawfully redeemed from them by the honourable man, William Cuthbert, burgess of Inverness, hereditary owner and feudatory of all and sundry foresaid lands with their pertinents . . . for the sum of 200 merks of the usual money of the Kingdom of Scotland. . . . These things, all and sundry, were done at Tulloch, the 29th day of the month of May, A.D. 1584. Present there, the honest man, Alexander Merchant, burgess of Inverness ; Alexander Bane, my eldest lawful son ; Robert Bane, my son ; Alexander Thomas M'Gilliemichael, with other witnesses called and required.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER BAYNE of Tulloch.
William Cumming acts as Notary."

In 1587 King James confirmed the Charter of Mary Queen of Scots, his mother, to Inverness. He gives over to the Royal foundation all lands, duties, annual rents, milnes, fishings, houses, etc., which pertained of before to the Dominican Friars or Predicatores, etc., and he ordains the Clerk of Registers to amplify this present Act, insert and register the same among the remanent Acts of Parliament, to have the strength of an Act of Parliament in all times coming.

James R.
Robert Milne.

This Charter was confirmed by the Golden Charter granted by James upon January 1st, 1591, to the burgh

of Inverness—Sealed with our great seal at Holyrood House."

From the Proceedings of the Burgh Court of Inverness we extract the following:—

"13th Sept., 1568.—That day, Thomas Finlayson, officer, passed at the command of James Paterson, Provost of Inverness, to the Friars Predicatores of Inverness, and there arrested all and haill the Friars' Kirk houses, biggings, stones, dykes, of the same, that none within this burgh should pretend to break any of the foresaid Kirk houses, dykes, stones, nor lead them away unto the time that the infestment obtained by the township should be fulfilled, and this he did before these witnesses—Magnus Caskin, William Anderson, and Gillimore M'Marrif. Nov. 6th.—The Burgh Court of Inverness holden within the Tolbooth of the same by Alexander Paterson, Joseph Dempster, and William Cumming, bailie, conjunctly and severally the 6th day of Novr., in the year of God 1568. That day, etc., as above.

Witnesses—Thomas Baillie, John Crown.

June 24th.—The Burgh Court of Inverness holden within the Tolbooth of the same, by William Cuthbert, Provost, John Robertson, one of the bailies of the said burgh, the 24th day of June, 1570. The which day compeared William Cuthbert, Provost of Inverness, in presence of the bailies, Council, and community of this burgh of Inverness, and there he exponed to them that he had obtained the consent of the Provost, bailies, Council, and community of the said burgh to have the haill Friars' yards and crofts bounded and included within the old walls thereof to him and heirs male for all the days of his lifetime, and that they had subscribed an assidation to him thereof, under their subscriptions manual, which assidation he presented to them openly, and desired them that they would admit and receive him as tenant and tacksman of the said Friars' yards and crofts and such like, because the subscriptions of the said assidation were gotten by him particularly of them, all being now altogether convened—which being openly read among them, and understanding that the common good was nothing hurt or diminished thereby, have received and admitted him tacksman and tenant to them of the said Friars' yards and crofts, . . . he making

thankful payment, and ordained its common seal to be put to the said assidation, upon the which the said William Cuthbert took Act of Court.

The Head Burgh Court of Inverness, after Yule, holden within the Tolbooth by John M'Gilive, one of the bailies of the burgh, Jany. 7th, 1571. That day William Thomson produced in judgment an evident upon a rood of land let to him by John Robertson, burgess, which land pays to the Friars' Preachers of Inverness, and their successors, three shillings annual yearly, the which William desires to be entered in the suit roll, which was granted by the judge, upon the which the said William required Act of Court.

The Burgh Court of Inverness, holden within the Tolbooth of the same by William, one of the bailies, the 28th day of May, in the year of God 1578. That day compeared Maggie Kar, spouse to William Cuthbert, Provost, and there freely, purely, and simply renounced and overgave her fee of all and sundry the lands of the whole of the said late Black Friars of Inverness, haill yards and crofts within the walls of the said late Black Friars, with all claim, right, and possession which she had, in favour of the said William Cuthbert, her spouse, etc. Upon the which William Cuthbert and William Macfarquhar required Act of Court for the said Maggie Kar, James Paterson, Sheriff.

Jany. 9th, 1575.—The house and place of Allister M'Phadrick pay 2 shillings annual to the Friars' Preachers, entered in the suit-roll." (*Fr. Placid Conway.*)

THE GREIG STREET FOOT-BRIDGE, INVERNESS.

A largely attended meeting of the subscribers to this Bridge was held in the Town Hall on Tuesday night, for the purpose of hearing the committee's report on the legality of the objections put forward to the erection of the Bridge, by the proprietor of the Friars' Shott salmon fishings. Mr. Alex. Macbean was in the chair. Mr. Charles Innes, solicitor, convener of the Committee, read the Report, which was as follows:—

"Your committee understanding that the difficulties in question have been raised by the present proprietor of the portion of the River Ness popularly called the 'Friars' Shott,' have investigated the history of that por-

tion of the fishings, and as the result of their investigations now beg to report as follows:—

An Order of Friars, some say 'black' and others 'grey,' but generally styled in charters and other ancient records 'Preaching Friars' (*fratres predicatorum*), settled in Inverness in 1233, and as they were much favoured by the then King, Alexander II., they were soon made the recipients of his bounty. In 1240 he gave them a grant of certain subjects, including fishings, the latter being in point of fact, as will be seen from the sequel, the fishings which we to this day call the 'Friars' Shott.'

King Alexander's Charter appears to have been very carelessly kept, for by 1530 it was so wasted and destroyed that it became necessary to have it confirmed by James V., who then occupied the Scottish throne. James complied with the request to that effect, and his Charter of confirmation narrates particularly the description of the subjects included in his predecessor's grant.

The full description, which it is necessary to give in order to the proper understanding of the boundaries of the fishings, is as follows:—'Our Royal highway lying in length from the water of Ness, as far as that land which the Abbot and Convent of Arbroath gave to them' (*i.e.* the Preaching Friars of Inverness) 'for ever, and in breadth between the burying ground of the Parish Church and the wall of the said Friars, and that island of our land lying on the north side of said Friars, on the south side of the water of Ness, with the whole water and fishing from theforesaid Friars' Road as far as Scurry, in pure and perpetual charity, with all commodities, liberties, and easements.'

The Royal highway thus oddly gifted by the King to the Friars it will be seen lay in breadth 'between the burying ground of the Parish Church and the wall of the said Friars.' As the said wall is known to have been nearer the mouth of the river than the burying ground, that is to the north thereof, it follows (first), that the 'Royal highway' otherwise the 'Friars' Road,' running from the water side, must have formed the southern boundary of the fishings, and (second) that the said road must have been formed immediately alongside of the burying ground of the Parish Church—in fact that it

must have occupied pretty much the site of what we call Friars' Lane to this day.

As the bounds of the fishings are described as extending from the 'Friars' Road as far as Scurry,' and as it is well known that the latter was to the north of the former, and is what is now called 'the Cherry,' there could be no manner of doubt, even was there no evidence other than the charter itself, that the Friars' Road, or, in other words, the Friars' Lane of our day was in 1240, and in 1530, the boundary of the Friars' fishings at the south. Had, however, there been any doubt as to the exact position of the Friars' Road, there is in existence a mass of evidence to place the matter beyond all question.

The Friars' fishing seems from very early times to have led to disputes and litigation, and questions as to encroachment in connection therewith have not been confined to our day. The proprietors, however, so long, at any rate, as the fishings belonged to the Friars, do not appear to have been always the encroachers. In 1538 it would appear that the Burgh authorities attempted to rob the Friars, whose days by that time were well nigh numbered, of a portion of their property.

The then Prior was, however, not the man meekly to allow his Order to be despoiled of any of their ancient possessions. By the rules of the Order, the brotherhood were bound to abstain from eating flesh from the month of September to Easter in each year, hence fish to them was an important article of food, and they were on that account the less likely to part with an inch of water to which they could lay just claim. The attempted encroachment of the Burgh was brought before the Sheriff of Inverness, Alexander Baillie of Dunain, and he having heard both parties as to their rights and allegations, 'and the complaints and statements of each being weighed, the foresaid Alexander Baillie, Sheriff of Inverness' (as the Notarial instrument of the proceedings sets forth), 'holding the situation for the administration of justice, being advised by the ripe counsel of his assessors, delivers and ordains the foresaid Provost, Bailies, and the occupiers of the River Ness, to desist and cease from all fishing and dragging of nets, in all time coming, until they shall produce more valid evidences in judgment; and the Charter of the said Friars just shown before the said Sheriff in

defence of said Prior and Convent, and examined in judgment, to be of as much force, as is more fully contained in the Roll of said Court made thereupon.' So that for the time being the Friars came off victorious.

In a Charter granted in 1574, by which time the poor Friars had got their *congé*, and were relieved of all their property, mention is made of 'the common passage or highway which leads to the water of Ness between the Parish Church of Inverness and the foresaid place of the Preaching Friars of Inverness;' and again in a deed executed in 1584, 'the common passage or way, which leads to the water of Ness between the Parish Church of Inverness and the place of the late Preaching Friars of Inverness,' is referred to. The said common passage, or way, was, therefore, undoubtedly well known.

At the Reformation in 1560, the Friars were stripped of all their possessions, and their houses, lands, and fishings, were granted to the Provost, Bailies, Council, and community of Inverness, by Queen Mary, by Charter dated 21st April, 1567. The burgh authorities very soon parted with the subjects thus gifted to them, having feued out the same to different parties—not unfrequently to friends and connections of their own, and that at trifling feu duties. The Friars' fishing was in that way feued out, the duty being £1 2s. 9½d. It is needless, however, at present, to trace it through each proprietor in succession, and a period of two centuries may therefore be passed over. About the middle of the 18th century questions arose between the feuars of the River Ness and the magistrates of Inverness, which ended in a litigation. The proceedings were conducted in the Court of Session, and by the final decision of that Court, dated 27th June, 1775, it was found that 'the town of Inverness had been long since denuded of all their rights of salmon fishing in the water of Ness by grants made by the town in favour of the feuars of said fishing, and that the feuars' (*i.e.* the parties in right of what are called the Four Cobles) 'have the sole right of salmon fishing from the stone of Clachnahagaig to the mouth of the river where it joins the sea at low water, except the Duke of Gordon's fishing, and the fishing called the Friars' fishing.'

Subsequent to the year 1775, the municipal authori-

ties re-acquired half a coble, being one-eighth portion of the right formerly possessed by them, apart from the Friars' fishing, and it is in respect of the half coble so re-acquired the inhabitants of Inverness are now enjoying the privilege of fishing in the river within the Four Cobles water one day out of every eight. The fishings called the 'Friars' fishing' are said in the printed Report of the case to have then belonged to 'one Scot, a merchant in Inverness,' whose 'rights' it is said describe it by special boundaries as follows, viz.:—'Totam et integrum aquam vocat. lie Friars water de Nes et salmonum piscarium ejusd. aquae, qua quondam pertinuerunt ad praedicatores. Invernesæ, bodan. inter lie Cherry ad boream, et communem venellam quae descendit apud cemiterium lie Kirkyard et austrum.'

That description agrees almost word for word with the description in the original Charter of 1240, as narrated in the Charter conjoining the same in 1530, the only difference being that the fact of the Cherry being at the north, and the Kirkyard at the south, is stated. There cannot be the slightest doubt as to the common vennel referred to in 1775 being the Friars' Road of 1240 and 1530, and the Friars' Lane of 1877, seeing that it has already been abundantly shown, apart from the statement in Scot's title, that the limit of the Friars' fishing on the south was the road, passage, highway, or common vennel (as it has at different times been called), which separated the 'Parish Church' from the old 'place' of the Friars.

In connection with the before referred to case, a judicial Plan was prepared in 1774 by Mr. Horne, which Plan was lithographed in 1830, and copies of which are in the possession of several Invernessians. The positions of the various fishing stations and the boundaries of the Friars' fishing are therein particularly marked. The end of the Trot or the third station of the coble proprietors, which in point of fact was the boundary of the Friars' fishing at the south, is placed on the east bank of the river a little to the north of Friars' Lane; and it is run across the river in a slanting and upward direction until it reaches a point on the west bank about opposite the centre of old 'Drummuir's House,' which is now known as the 'Blue House' or 'Balnain's House.'

Towards the close of last century Provost William

Inglis drew up a Memorandum on the subject of the old Monastery, its boundaries and possessions, which is still preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. In it occurs the following passage—‘On a rising ground, separated from the Monastery by the lane only, stood the Parish Church, a very ancient structure, which, having become quite ruinous, was pulled down in the year 1769, and the present Church built on its site.’ This is further confirmation of the position of the road, passage, or vennel which was situated at the southern boundary of the Friars’ water.

Provost Inglis further says—‘the salmon fishing directly opposite to the Friary, and esteemed the most valuable in the river, did also belong to it, and is to this day called the Friars’ coble or shott.’ As we know with certainty that the Friars’ lands did not extend beyond the road separating them from the Parish Church, it follows, as a matter of course, the fishings which were ‘directly opposite’ could not possibly extend beyond said road.

In 1831, the Town Council granted a Charter of confirmation of the fishings in question to Messrs. Fenwick and Steavenson, who were then in right of the same. In that Charter the description is as follows:—‘All and whole, the water commonly called the Friars’ water of Ness, and salmon fishings of the same, which of old belonged to the Friars preachers of Inverness, called the Friars’ fishing on the said river, and haill parts and pertinents thereto belonging, lying within the liberty and territory of the said Burgh of Inverness, bounded betwixt the common way or vennel descending nigh the Kirkyard and burial place thereof, at the south, and the Cherry, at the north.’

On the 29th October, 1869, a Charter of confirmation, the description in which is in precisely similar terms to the above, was granted to Mr. A. L. Steavenson.

In the light of the quotations before given from the Charters, by which the fishings were originally granted to the old Preaching Friars, and seeing the Charters of confirmation just quoted (being the last delivered by the town) state distinctly the fishings referred to of old belonged to the Friars preachers of Inverness, it is evident the present proprietor of the Friars’ fishing is

entitled to as much of the water, but no more, as his predecessors the Preaching Friars possessed. No question has arisen as to the northern boundary, the southern boundary only being at present in dispute; why any dispute should have arisen as to it is surprising, seeing that the boundary is as easily recognisable to-day as it was when the original grant was made, over 600 years ago, for now as then 'a common passage or way leads to the water of Ness between the Parish Church of Inverness and the place of the late Preaching Friars of Inverness.' That passage was in 1240 and 1530 called the Friars' Road; it is now called Friars' Lane, and undoubtedly was then, as it is now, the boundary of the Friars' fishings on the south.

It is believed that the present proprietor contends that the lane called Church Lane, which runs from Church Street between the High Churchyard and what is now the North Free Church Manse and garden, is the common way or vennel referred to in his titles. After what has already been said it is not necessary to waste a single sentence on the contention.

The only peculiarity about the boundaries of the Friars' fishings is that while the march at the south on the east side of the river is given, no reference is made to the march on the west bank. The explanation is, that when the grant was originally given, fishing operations were in that portion of the river alone conducted from the east bank, the opposite or western bank being at that time not suitable for the purpose.

The river opposite the Friars' lands was of old divided into two streams, the main body running where it now does, while the other found its way to the sea by what was called *the Abban*. When *the Abban* came to be closed up, the stream, which formerly struck the western, was naturally thrown over toward the eastern bank, necessitating a change in the bank from which the cobles could be launched and the nets shot.

Though it has no bearing on the point at issue, it may be well here to mention, as this Report may in after years be referred to, that some local antiquarians have asserted the ancient name of the Friars' Shott was 'Frieshott' or 'Freschot.' This assertion was made by Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh in his 'Antiquarian Notes;' the only

proof he gives being the fact that in a letter to his father, dated 29th October, 1819, the late Major Duff of Muirtown had said so.

In his later work, 'Invernessiana,' Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh quotes the authority of the late Mr. James Suter to the following effect:—'What is now styled the Friars' Shott was called 300 years ago the Freschott, and this word signifies that part of a river which is affected by the tide is sometimes fresh, sometimes salt water.'

These gentlemen all seem to have jumped to the conclusion that Freschott and Friars' Shott were synonymous on account apparently of the similarity of the two names.

In a Charter, dated 13th May, 1544, by the Bishop of Moray to the then Lord Lovat, the Bishop granted *inter alia* 'the fishings of the Ness called the Freschott,' and that is the only Deed referred to by our antiquarians in which the fishing so called is named.

Seeing that the lands included in said Charter are Abriachen, Kinmylies, Ballifeary, Bught, &c.—it is thought it might have occurred to even a casual reader, that in all probability the fishings going along with these lands might be looked for in their immediate neighbourhood, and not so far away as the Friars' fishings undoubtedly were. When, however, we know, and the antiquarians might have known too, that the Bishop of Moray never possessed the 'Friars' fishing:' that on the contrary said fishing remained in the possession of the Friars themselves from 1240 until they ceased to exist in 1560, and that it was with other portions of their property gifted by Queen Mary to the burgh in 1567 (as has been explained), it will be at once seen that the fishing called the Freschott, in the Bishop of Moray's Charter to Lord Lovat in 1544, was not and could not possibly have been the Friars' Shott. The fishing, really given over by the Bishop of Moray to Lord Lovat are believed to have been in possession of the Bishop's predecessors since 1232, and to have been the fishing, included in the Charter of Kinmylies granted in that year.

By Mr. Horne's Plan of 1774 before referred to, the end of the third station of the coble proprietors is fixed on the western bank of the river, as has been already stated, at a point about opposite the centre of old Drummuir's House. As the coble proprietors appear to have

made that the end of their station, doubtless the proprietors of the Friars' fishing came in time to look on the water on the west side of the river up to that point as theirs. There is nothing in the titles, however, which warrants their going further to the south than the old Friars' Road, and it is quite possible the proprietors of the cobles might yet, if they tried the question, be able to restrict the proprietor of the Friars' fishing to that portion of the water ending at his southern boundary as given in his titles. Into that question it is at present not necessary to enter. It would appear, however, that the present proprietor of the Friars' fishing, not content with being allowed to launch his boats on the western bank of the river from a point considerably beyond his Charter boundary, now claims a right to use the western bank for some 30 or 35 yards beyond even that point, for the purpose of towing up his boats. In the opinion of your Committee he has no such right at common law, and it is quite certain he has no such right by his titles. The claim therefore should, it appears to your Committee, be strenuously resisted. Had it not been for the fact that the water of the four cobles proprietors is now almost only used for the purpose of angling, it is believed the operations of the proprietor of the Friars' fishings and his tenants would long ago have been challenged and stopped.

The use of the bank beyond Balnain's House for the purpose of towing, began at a period when the cobles and Friars' fishing were in the tenancy of one and the same person or company, and it is believed the present proprietor cannot prove that by himself or his tenants he has in right of the Friars' fishings been undisturbedly using the bank of the river beyond Balnain's House as a towing path for anything like forty years.

As the proposed site of the foot-bridge is considerably to the south of Balnain's House on the west side of the river, and the Friars' Lane on the east side, your Committee recommend: (1st) That immediate application should be made to the proper authorities (that is, the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, as also the proprietors of the four cobles fishing) for permission to erect the bridge on said site; (2nd) That, in anticipation of said permission being granted contracts should be forthwith entered into for the erection of said bridge so that the

present season should not be lost; (3rd) That caveats should be lodged in the Courts in case the proprietor of the Friars' fishing should apply for an interdict; and (4th) That care should be taken that the interests of the subscribers shall be protected by the contract to be entered into for the erection of the bridge by providing for the possibility of a question arising with the proprietor of said fishing. Reported in name and on behalf of the Committee by CHARLES INNES, Convener.

Inverness, 3rd April, 1877."

TEMPLAR AND JOHANNITE KNIGHTS.

I shall add a few things concerning the Templar and Johannite Knights.

The Templars were religious Knights established at Jerusalem about the year 1118, and vowed to defend the Temple, and to guard and entertain pilgrims and strangers. They wore a white habit with a red cross, and were called by some the *Red-Friars*. They became immensely rich, had above 9000 houses in Europe, and the cross of the Order was on the top of every house. They had some lands in Ardersier and a jurisdiction of Regality. In 1312 the Pope and the King of France suppressed this Order, and, under pretence of abominable crimes and errors, caused destroy the Knights in one night, then shared their riches, and gave a part of the lands to the Johannites.

The Templars had a house in the town of Elgin; and at Kinnermony, in Aberlour, there are the walls of an old Gothic house, and the tradition of the country is that it was a Religious

house, and that all the Religious in it were massacred in one night. [See Vol. I., pp. 183, 184.]

The Johannites had their rise from some Neapolitan Merchants, whom the Caliph of Egypt permitted to build a house at Jerusalem for the reception of pilgrims. In 1104, Godfrey of Bouillon allowed a Temple and Hospital to be built in honour of St. John; and hence the Knights took their name. They wore a black robe with a white cross. Being driven by the Saracens and Turks out of Palestine, Cyprus, and Rhodes, Charles V., Emperor, in 1534, gave them the island of Malta. Hence they were called The Knights of Malta. They had lands in almost all Christian countries. Their chief seat in Scotland was at Torphichen; and King Malcolm IV. gave them “*Unum toftum in quolibet burgo totius terræ sue.*”* They had a house in the town of Elgin; but at the Reformation, anno 1560, the Order was abolished.

II. THE SECULAR CLERGY.

These were so called because, being the Parish Ministers, they lived abroad in the world, and were not shut up in Convents and Cloisters as the Regulars were. We had two Bishops' Sees or Seats in this Province, Mortlach and Moray; and the Bishops of these, with their Inferiors, were the Secular Clergy.

* *Translation*—“One toft in whatever burgh they chose throughout the kingdom.”

THE BISHOPRICK OF MORTLACH,

With the time and occasion of its erection, is mentioned by Fordun, *Lib. IV., cap. 44, in vita Malcolm II.*—“Novam Episcopalem constituit sedem apud Murthlac, non procul a loco quo, superatis Norwegensibus, victoriam obtinuit.”* This refers to the victory obtained over the Danes, anno 1010; and Fordun adds that Pope Benedict constituted Bean Bishop thereof. We have the foundation Charter of this See in the Chartulary of Aberdeen. It runs thus:—

“*Malcolmus, rex Scottorum, omnibus probis hominibus suis, tam Clericis quam Laicis, Salutem: Sciatis, me dedisse, et hac Carta mea confirmasse, Deo et Beatæ Mariæ, et omnibus Sanctis, et Episcopo BEYN de Murthelach, Ecclesiam de Murthelach, ut ibidem construatur sedes Episcopalis, Terras meas de Murthelach, Ecclesiam de Cloveth cum terris, Ecclesiam de Dulmeth cum terris; ita libere sicut eas tenui, et in puram, et perpetuam Eleemosynam: Teste meipso, apud Forfar, 8vo Octobris, anno regni mei sexto.*”†

* Translation—“He erected a new Bishop’s See at Murthlac, not far from the place where, having conquered the Norwegians, he obtained a victory.”

† Translation—“Malcolm, King of Scots, to all his good People, both Clergy and Laity, Greeting: Know ye that I have given, and by this Charter confirmed, to God and the blessed Mary, and all the Saints, and to the Bishop Beyn of Morthlach, the Church of Morthlach, that there a Bishop’s See may be erected, my Lands of Morthlach, the Church of Cloveth with its lands, the Church of Dulmeth with its lands, as free as I held them, and in pure and perpetual charity. Witness myself, at Forfar, October 8th, in the sixth year of my Reign.”

Dr. Nicholson, in his *Scottish History*, page 210, makes King Malcolm III. the founder of the Bishoprick, but gives no reason for his opinion. It is true, in the Chartulary of Aberdeen, this erection is said to have been, “*Tempori Malcolmi regis Scotiæ filii Kenethi, per eum Malcolmum constituta est primo sedes episcopalis apud Murthlac, cui dotavit ecclesiam de Murthlac,*”* &c. Yet that Chartulary in another place says that it was erected anno 1070. But many circumstances concur in ascribing the erection to Malcolm II. Malcolm II., and not Malcolm III., was the son of Kenneth. Malcolm II., and not Malcolm III., defeated the Norwegians at Mortlach. It was erected anno regni 6to; this places it in 1010, which was the 6th of Malcolm II. But the year 1070 was the 13th, and not the 6th, of Malcolm III. If Malcolm III. had been the Founder, he would have been so called in the Chartulary; but he is mentioned only as a single donator. And David I. would have confirmed his father's charter had he been the founder; but this he does not. The transcriber, therefore, of the charter has certainly erred in writing 1070 for 1010, which is but one figure for another, 7 for 1—a mistake ready to be committed.

This See, being erected 1010, was the second

* Translation—“The Episcopal See at Morthlach was at first erected in the time of Malcolm, Son of Kenneth, and King of Scotland, to which he granted the Kirk of Morthlach.”

in Scotland ; and it shows how narrow and mean the extent and jurisdiction of Bishoprics were at first. This extended only over three parishes.

King David I., by his charter dated at Forfar, 30th July, anno regni 18vo, i.e. 1142, translated the See from Mortlach to Aberdeen, in favour of Bishop Nectan ; whose Diocese was declared to be over the counties of Aberdeen and Banff (*Chart. Aberd.*) But the extent of that Diocese was afterwards altered, and much of it included in the Diocese of Moray, as we shall see. Yet the parish of Mortlach, the *Mother-seat*, remained in the Diocese of Aberdeen, until it was annexed to the Synod of Moray by the General Assembly, 9th April, 1706.

SEE OF MORTLACH.

[The circumstantial account of the foundation of a Bishop's See at Morthlach by Malcolm II. in 1010, given by Fordun and Boece, is repudiated by Cosmo Innes in his Preface to the *Reg. Epis. Aberdonensis*—as their delineations are built on five *forged* charters, which he combats as such. He says:—"At a somewhat earlier period than the era of Fordun, was engrossed in the *Album Registrum*, the most ancient of the existing records of the Bishoprick of Aberdeen), the following commencement of a *Table of its Contents*. It has been much injured by an awkward attempt to alter the chronology to suit the era of Malcolm II.; but it would appear to have originally stood thus :—

'ANNO DOMINI M^o. SEPTUAGESIMO. MALCOLMUS REX SCOTORUM FILIUS KENACHI DUXIT IN UXOREM BEATAM MARGARETAM REGINAM. . . ET ANNO REGNI SUI SEXTO FUNDATA EST SEDES EPISCOPALIS APUD MORTHLACH VT HABETUR IN PRIMO FOLIO PRIMI QUATERNI. ET PROCESSU TEMPORIS TRANSLATA EST SEDES EPISCOPALIS APUD ABERDON PER VOL. III.

DAVID FILIUM SUUM REGEM SCOCIE ET DOTATA VT HABETUR IN EODEM FOLIO. LITERA PREDICTI MALCOLM I. PRONEPOTIS SUI REGIS SCOCIE CONFIRMANTIS DONACIONIS DAVID REGIS SCOCIE AVI SUI. LITERA DAVID REGIS SCOCIE FILII PRIMI MALCOLMI ET BEATE MARGARETE CONCEDENTIS ET DONANTIS MULTAS POSSESSIONES ECCLESIAS ET DECIMAS OMNIUM REDDITUUM SUORUM INTER DUAS AQUAS QUE DEE ET SPEE DICUNTUR.'

The writer of this Record, although he mistakes the father of Malcolm III., whom he calls *Kenneth* instead of *Duncan*, is, in other respects, consistent with himself and with the ascertained chronology. He ascribes the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret to the year 1070, which is the date assigned by the Chronicle of Melrose to the nuptials of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret of England. Nor can there be any doubt that it is Malcolm III. of whom he speaks, notwithstanding his mistaken patronymic, when he names David I. as his son and Malcolm IV. as his great-grandson, and bestows upon him his well-known appellation of "Canmor"—"Big Head." According, then, to this, the oldest authority for the tradition, and entitled to the more weight that *it was written within the walls of the Cathedral*, a Bishop's See was founded at Morthlach in 1063, which corresponds with the sixth year of the reign of Malcolm Canmore.

Another Record, not indeed of so high antiquity or authority, asserts the *translation* of the *See of Morthlach* to Aberdeen to have taken place in 1125.

It is hardly necessary to observe that these dates are more consistent with the number of Bishops between the foundation of the See and its translation to Aberdeen, as preserved by the unvarying tradition of the Church, than the period assigned by Fordun and Boece, which would extend the incumbency of three Bishops over a period of no less than 112 years."

In the beginning of the 12th century, the band of missionaries that pushed into the Pagan fastnesses of the North of Scotland, and established their little Christian family in the sequestered valley of the Fiddich, at Morthlach, must have thriven in the benevolence of the people, since, at that period, the "Monastery of Morthlach" was possessed of five churches with their territories.

We have all lived in the belief that Morthlach was the

seat of a Bishop eight or nine centuries ago; that the Bishopric was transferred from Mortlach to Aberdeen after there were three Bishops there in succession; that Malcolm II., King of Scotland, fought the Danes at Mortlach in 1010, and, in gratitude for his victory, added three lengths of his spear—a very long one, no doubt—to the old church.

Neither John Hill Burton (the Historian of Scotland), nor W. F. Skene supports these beliefs, fondly cherished for a long period by every one belonging to the district. They do not absolutely say they are apocryphal; but they point out difficulties in accepting the version of them which local history has handed down—difficulties that are not easy to get over, and which cannot finally be cleared up, without research for original documents, not yet founded on, which it may not be easy to find—which it may, indeed, be impossible to find.

Mr. Skene, in one of the first two volumes of his *Celtic Scotland*, says quite distinctly that no Bishopric could have been at Mortlach at the time it was said to be there.

The history of the time, so far as founded on reliable documents, makes it clear that St. Andrews had the only Bishop in Scotland at so early a period. The evidence of a Bishop being at Mortlach rests on the genuineness of five chapters of Memoranda prefixed to the *Chartulary of Aberdeen*; and recent inquirers, including Professor Cosmo Innes, say they cannot be relied on. See page 241.

Mr. Skene says there was a Culdee Church or Cell at Mortlach, and a Monastery, but not a Bishopric; and, however unpleasant it may be to give up old beliefs that seemed well supported by historical authorities, we are afraid many of the associations that cluster around the early history of the Valley of the Fiddich must be abandoned, and new reading and new inquiry resorted to, in order, if possible, to get at what is really reliable and true.

About the Battle of Mortlach, Mr. Hill Burton is as decided that it could not have taken place, as Mr. Skene, is that the Bishops were not there.

The first authentic Writ in *Regist. Ep. Aberdeen* is a Bull by Pope Adrian IV. in 1157, confirming to Edward, Bishop of Aberdeen, the Church of Aberdeen, the Church of St. Machar, with the town of Old Aberdeen and other lands, in which are included the Monastery

of Cloveth and the town and Monastery of Murthillach, with five churches and the lands belonging to them. There is here no allusion to Murthillach having been an Episcopal See, the seat of which had been transferred to Aberdeen. The designation of "Monastery" points unequivocally to these Churches having been old Columban Monasteries; and accordingly we find that Murthillach was dedicated to St. Malusc, the founder of the Churches of Lismore and Rosemarky, in the sixth century.

Of the three Bishops who are said to have preceded Nectan, Beyn probably belongs to the Columban period. Donertius has all the appearance of a fictitious name, and Cormauch is probably Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld, who appears in the Charter in which Nectan is first mentioned as having rights connected with the Church of Deer, and who may have possessed similar claims upon the Monasteries of Cloveth and Murthillach, as old Columban foundations. (See Vol. II., 379.)

The Church of Aberdeen appears to have had a tradition that the See was originally founded at Mortlach, and was transferred to Aberdeen by King David in the 13th year of his reign. This tradition is contained in five Charters or Memoranda of charters, prefixed to the *Chartulary of Aberdeen*, and the interval between Beyn, the supposed first Bishop, and Nectan, is filled up by Donerius, the second Bishop, and Cormauch, the third Bishop. That a Bishopric was founded there by Malcolm II. is clearly at variance with the undoubted fact that there was, at that time, but one Bishop in Scotland, whose seat was at St. Andrews, and who was termed the *Episcop. Albain*, or *Episcopus Scottorum*; and the five documents which contain the Aberdeen tradition have been shown by the learned Editor of the *Chartulary* (Cosmo Innes) to be unquestionably spurious.] (Ed.)

The Bishops of Mortlach before the translation of the See were :—

1, Bean;* 2, Donertius; 3, Cormac. These

* In the Scotch Calendars, St. Beyn appears both on 26th October and on 16th December. The Breviary of Aberdeen has, on 26th October, *Beyn Episcopus*; and in Adam King's Calendar he is called *Bishop of Murthillach*: but in the Martyr-

from anno 1010 to 1122. Then 4, Nectan was ordained, and in 1139 was brought to Aberdeen.

In 1142 this See was called The Bishopric of Aberdeen. (*Pref. to Dipl. et Num. Scotiæ.*)

I come now to

THE BISHOPRIC OF MORAY.

The precise time of erecting this Bishopric, or the reign in which it was erected, cannot easily be fixed. Leslie and Buchanan ascribe it to King Malcolm III. or Ceanmore; but this is uncertain. In the Foundation-Charter of the Priory of Scone, anno 1115, Gregorius Episcopus is a witness. In a Charter by King Alexander I. to the said Priory, about the year 1122, Robertus Electus Episcopus Sti Andreæ, Cormacus Episcopus, et Gregorius Episcopus de Moravia, are witnesses. And in a Charter by King David I. anno 1126, to the Abbey of Dunfermline, Robertus Sti Andreæ, Joannes Glasguensis, Gregorius Moraviensis, Cormacus Dunkeldensis, and Macbeth Rossimarkiensis, Episcopi, are witnesses. (*Dalr. Coll.*) I think it very probable, that Bishop Gregory, anno 1126, is the same that is

ology of Aberdeen he is identified with S. Beyn of Fowlis in Stratherne, who, we learn from the *Life of St. Cadroe*, lived in the ninth century. Dempster, in his *Monologium*, has him also at 16th December as *Bishop of Murthlach*, but this is also the day of St. Mobhesc in the Irish Calendars, whose name was also *Beoan*; and as he is mentioned in the *Felire of Angus*, he must have lived before the eighth century. (See *Mart. Donegal*, p. 337.) (Ed.)

mentioned 1122 and 1115; and this brings up the erection to the beginning of the reign of King Alexander I., and higher I cannot trace it.

Thus the See of Moray is fourth in order of erection; and the more ancient Sees are, St. Andrews, Mortlach, and Glasgow.

Let me now give an account of

THE BISHOPS OF THIS SEE OF MORAY.

Spottiswood and others have given very imperfect Catalogues of these Bishops. I have compared several manuscript and printed lists, and from them compiled the following, which I think pretty exact. [Not so, as the emendations show. (Ed.)]

1. *Gregorius*, Bishop of Moray, anno 1115. I find not in what year he died. [Note at page 245.]

[*Gregory*, Bishop of this See, is mentioned in the reign of King Alexander I., as Witness in a Charter to the Priory of Scone: and in the time of King David I., he is also named as Witness to his Charter to the Abbey of Dunfermline. (*Cart. Dunferm. Dalr. Coll.* p. 240, and 388-9, and *Pref.* p. 56.) I suspect the first Bishop of Dunkeld and this one here may be the same person.

He was Prior of the Convent of Dunkeld in 1127, and made Bishop of the See about the same time. It was by his interest that the Lands of Outhertak, as well as 30 Prebends, were granted to the Bishop and Chapter of Dunkeld as is contained in King David's Charter. He procured, in the strictest form, from Pope Alexander III., the Apostolical protection for himself and his Church, in which Writing all the Possessions which they held then are reckoned. He assigned the *Church of Rattray* to the Sub-chanter, whose name was *Guasdub*.

He is Bishop of Dunkeld, contemporary with Herbert, Elect of Glasgow. (*Cart. Cambusken.*) Also, with

King David, Robert, Elect of St. Andrews, and Herbert and Andrew, Bishops of Glasgow and Caithness. (*Cart. Dunferm.*) He is Bishop of Dunkeld in 1150. (*Cart. Glasguen.*) He is contemporary with John, Bishop of Glasgow (*Cart. Kelso*); and in the time of King Malcolm IV., with Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Andrew, Bishop of Caithness. (*Cart. Kelso et Passelet.*) He is *Bishop of Dunkeld* under King Malcolm IV. (*Dipl. et Numism.*) He is Witness to a Charter of that King. (*Hay et Cart. Newbottle.*) Also in the 11th year of the same King (*Cart. Scone*); and in the time of Pope Adrian IV. (*Nic. Hist. Lib.*, p. 353.) *Gregory*, Bishop of Dunkeld, is Witness to a Charter of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, granting the Abbey of the Island of Loch Leven, the property of the Culdees, and the Vestments and Books of this Abbey, to the Church of St. Andrews. The grant must have been made before 1158, but there is no date.] (See Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*.)

2. *William*. I find not when he was consecrated. He was made Apostolic Legate 1159. Next year he consecrated Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews, and died anno 1162. (*Chron. Melr.*) I think it not improbable, that Gregory and William might officiate from 1115 to 1162.

[*William* was a Bishop here in the time of King David I. (*Cart. Cambusken*, also *Wrists of Clackmannan*.) He is Bishop also under King Malcolm II. (*Cart. Dunferm.*, also *Cart. Kelso et Dipl.*), and in the time of Pope Adrian IV. (*Hist. Lib.*, p. 353), "Willielmo Moraviense Episcopo Sedis Apostolicae Legato," is Witness to a Charter by King Malcolm to Berowaldus Flandrensis, of the Lands of Innes transsumed before the Lords of Council, 26th June, 1523. (*Riddle's MS. Notes*.) This Bishop, with one *Nicolaus Camerarius*, Secretary to King Malcolm IV., went to Rome for to complain of the usurpation of the Archbishop of York over the Church of Scotland in 1159. The Bishop returned as *Legate in Scotland*, with the accustomed powers of legislation and correction. (*Chron. S. Cruc. Edinb.* and *Chron. Melros*, p. 168.) It

was further declared that if he should be chosen Bishop of St. Andrews, the Pope would not only dispense with his journey to Rome for confirmation, but would ratify the ancient rites and honours of his See. If, it was added, another than the Bishop of Murray shall be chosen, then his office of Legate shall cease, and the new Bishop of St. Andrews, when confirmed and consecrated, shall be Legate of all Scotland. The choice of the Chapter fell on *Arnold*, Abbot of Kelso. Almost all that is known of the purpose and issue of this mission to Rome, is to be gathered from a newly published Rescript of Pope Alexander III. to the Chapter of St. Andrews, 22 Nov., 1159 (*Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, *Preface xxx*). He died 9 Kal. Feb. 1161. Keith and Shaw are in error in stating 1162.] (See Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*.)

3. *Felix* succeeded. He is a witness in a Charter by King William, "Willielmo filio Freskeni," of the lands of Duffus, Rosile, &c. He died anno 1170. (*Chron. Melros.*)

4. *Simon de Tonei*, a Monk of Melrose; elected 1171. Died 1184. Buried in Birnie (MSS.)

[*Simeon* or *Simon de Toeny* or *Thondi*, was Abbot at Coggeshall in the county of Essex, of which territory he was probably a native, as there were some of that name who came over with the Conqueror. *Simeon* is Bishop of this See, and contemporary with *Simeon*, *Matthew*, *Andrew*, and *Gregory*, Bishops of Dunblane, Aberdeen, Caithness, and Ross, in the time of King William (*Cart. Morav.*), and this same *Simeon* is a co-witness with *Robert de Quincy* and *Philip de Valoniis*. (*Ibid.*) He was consecrated 10 Kal. Feb. 1172. He died 15 Kal. Oct. 1184, and was the only Bishop in this See, who was buried at Birnie, according to some—although, very probably, his three predecessors were also there interred.]

5. *Andrew*, consecrated anno 1184; died 1185. (*Chron. Melros.*)

[This Bishop is omitted by *Keith*; neither is he included in the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviense*.]

6. *Richard*, Chaplain to King William, was consecrated *Id. Martii*, 1187, by Hugh, Bishop of St. Andrews. [Removed the Seat of the Diocese to Spynie, where he died and was buried in 1203. (ED.)]

[Richard was Bishop here in the time of King William (*Cart. Glasg.*—*Dipl. et Numism.*—*Officers of State*, p. 468). He was contemporary with Joceline, Hugo, Turpin, Andrew, Bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Brechin, and Caithness (*Cart. Aberd.*), and with Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen, and also in the time of William, elect of Glasgow, Chancellor to the King, and of John, elect of Aberdeen. (*Cart. Mor.*) He is witness to King William's confirmation of a donation to the Abbey of Kinloss, and a co-witness is H. Cancellarius. The paper which I have viewed wants indeed the date of the year; but yet it must have been betwixt the years 1189 and 1199, as being the space of time in which Hugo, who in the last year of his life came to be Bishop of Glasgow, filled the Chancellor's office (*v. Officers of State*). Whilst this Prelate was Bishop of Moray, the King was very beneficent to the See. He gave orders for the punctual payment of the revenues bestowed by his royal ancestors upon the Bishops of Moray; and, besides, he made over a portion of land, commonly called a *Toft*, in the towns of Kintore, Banff, Cullen, Elgin, Nairn, and Inverness (A.D. 1165)—as also the Teinds of all the King's rents, ordinary and extraordinary, within the Diocese of Moray, which had not formerly been set apart for the Church there. "Ricardus elect Moravien." is a witness to King William.]

7. *Bricius*, brother of William Lord Douglas, Prior of Lesmahagow, was elected anno 1203. Died 1222, and was buried in Spynie. He founded a College of 8 Canons.

[This Bishop's mother was sister to Friskinus de Kerdal of Kerdal, on the River Spey, as appears by a Charter of the Church of Deveth granted by Bishop Brice or Bricius, for supporting the fabric of the Church of Spynie, at that time the Cathedral of his Bishopric. He says:—“Ad instantiam et petitionem Friskini de Kerdal, avunculi nostri.” (*Cart. Morav.*, p. 22 v.) I suspect he may have been the same person who I see is Dean of this See of Moray in the time of the preceding Richard. It is said he became Bishop here in the year 1203, and that he died anno 1222. (*Cart. Melros.*) (*Keith's Cat.*)

Whether from consanguinity or alliance, he seems to have been closely connected with the powerful family of *de Moravia*, to which he probably owed his promotion to a Benefice so far from his own country. He was a great Benefactor to the Church, and was the first who, by application to Pope Innocent III. got the Cathedral of this See, formerly undefined and held at Birnie, Spynie, or Kinnedar, to be fixed at Spynie. It would appear that he afterwards applied to Rome for its transference to Elgin, as the Pope speaks of the personal representations of the Bishop—but this change did not take place till after his demise. It is said he went to Rome to a Council in 1215. (*Cart. Melros.*) His journey thereto is confirmed by a safe-conduct from the King of England, granted in order to facilitate his return from the Papal Court. (*Rot. Scot. 17 Johan. m. 8.*) He founded a Chapter of 8 secular Canons, and gave to his Cathedral a Constitution, founded on the usage of Lincoln, which he ascertained by a mission to England. He brought with him into Moray his four brothers, Archibald, Alexander, Hugh, Henry, and probably Freskinus—and provided for some of them by grants of land, for others as beneficed Churchmen. The promotion of their brother to the Bishopric, and perhaps the connection with the great northern family *De Moravia*, seem to have laid the foundation of the power of the family of Douglas, whose name before this period is scarcely known in history.]

Seal of Brice or Bricius.—The upper and lower part of this Seal is unfortunately broken; it represents the figure of a Bishop in profile, his right hand raised giving the benediction, his left holding a crook. He is arrayed in the alb and chasuble, the ample folds of which are gracefully disposed; from the

left arm depends the maniple. The Inscription is much broken, but has been—"BRICIUS DEI GRACIA MORAVIENSIS EPISCOPUS."

Counter Seal of the Preceding.—An antique gem, a figure of Peace or Concord holding in the right hand a winged victory, and her left resting on a shield—a frequent emblem on Roman coins and gems. "AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA." (*Appended to the Agreement between the Abbey of Melros and Patrick Earl Dunbar. c. A.D. 1208. Melros Charters.*)

8. *Andrew Moray*, son of William Moray of Duffus, Parson of Duffus. [Probably the son of Hugh de Moravia, Lord of Duffus, and before being raised to the Bishopric, Parson of Duffus, in which character he consented to the erection of the Chapel. (ED.)] Was consecrated anno 1223. He founded the Cathedral Church of Elgin anno 1224; added 14 Canons to the former 8, of which the Prebendary of Unthank was one: and he assigned to every Canon a toft on which to build a Manse and a Croft. To the Dean, Chancellor, Chanter, and Treasurer, 4 acres of land to each—and 2 other acres to each of the other Canons—which land he bought from the Burgesses of Elgin. He died 1242, and was buried in the Choir of the Cathedral under a broad blue stone. (MSS.)

[*Andrew de Moravia*, or Moray, a son of the family of Duffus (the best of that noted surname), was the following Bishop; and though there be no particular time allotted for his entrance, yet it must very probably have been very soon after the death of the former Bishop, since we see a writ by Pope Honorius, on the 12th day of May, in the 7th year of his Papacy, directed to "electo Morav." (*Cart. Mor.*), and indeed there is certain instruction of his being actual Bishop here in the year 1224 (*Ibid.*), item, in the years 1226, 1232, 1233, 1234,

1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242. (*Ibid. et Reg. Chart. Dipl. it. Cart. Aberbr. Cambusk. et Balmer.*) He was Bishop here in the 22nd year of King Alexander. (*Cart. Arb.*) He died anno 1242. (*Cart. Melr.*)

This great and worthy Prelate having obtained from King Alexander II. a beautiful piece of ground, lying at the east end of the town of Elgin, close upon the margin of the river [Lossie], which glides by the north side of that city, he laid the foundation of that magnificent and noble Church, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and ordained to be the Cathedral Church of Moray for ever. The solemnity was performed upon the 15th [19th ?] day of July, in the year 1224, by the Bishop of Caithness and Dean of Ross, by the authority of Pope Honorius III. To the 8 Canons established by Bishop Bricius Douglas, Andrew Moray added 14 more; and having with great prudence and piety, exercised his Episcopal function 20 years, he died anno 1242, and his remains were deposited in the south side of the quire of the Cathedral which he himself had founded, under a large stone of blue marble (*Mr. King's MS.*), which is still to be seen.] (*Keith's Cat.*)

[The brass thereupon has been pilfered long ago.

In his time, in 1224, the transference of the Episcopal See was effected, which had been designed and solicited by his predecessor. At different times, and chiefly by munificent endowments obtained from his own relatives of the families of De Moravia, of Duffus, and Petty, he increased the number of Prebends to 22, as we have seen above, of which the Bishop held one, and sat as a simple undignified Canon in the Chapter.]

9. *Simon*, Dean of Moray, succeeded in the year 1243, and died anno 1252. He was buried in the Choir of the Cathedral under a blue stone (*MSS.*)

[*Simon*, whom we observe to have been Dean of this See in the years 1232 and 1242 (*Cart. Morav.*), was advanced to the Bishop thereof. He is said to have died anno 1254; yet I think there is an initial letter or character, which I take to be S, denoting most plainly that

person to have been Bishop in the year 1253. (*Cart. Morav.*) But what I cannot account for is, that *Simon*, written at full length, is found Bishop here in the year 1348 (*Cart. Morav.*), unless it be supposed a mistake in the writer for 1248. He was Bishop of Moray 9 years. Died anno 1253 [1252 *Shaw*], and was buried in the Choir of the Cathedral.] (*Mr. King's MS. and Keith.*)

[*Randulph*, a Canon of Lincoln, according to Matthew Paris (p. 836), succeeded Simon: but it does not appear that he was ever consecrated. The words of the Historian are as follows:—"Electus est in Episcopum Morafensem. in Scotia, M. Radulphus Ecclesiæ Lincolensis canonicus."]

10. *Archibald*, Dean of Moray, was consecrated anno 1253; died 5th December, 1298, and was buried in the Cathedral. He built the Palace of Kinnedar, and resided there. In his time, William Earl of Ross had done some injury to the Church of Petty and Prebend of Brauchlie, for the reparation of which he gave the lands of Catboll in Ross, and other lands to the Bishop and Canons (*MSS.*)

[*Archibald* was Bishop here in 1253, 1256, 1258, 1260, 1269, and 1287. (*Cart. Morav.*) He was Bishop here in the 19th year of King Alexander (*Cart. Newbott. et Cart. Aberbroth.*), and Alexander (written at full length) was Bishop of Moray in the 22nd year of King Alexander (*Cart. Passelet.*); but here it would seem there is an error of the name of Alexander written for *Archibald*. He was Bishop here anno 1290. (*Rymer.*) He died 5to Jons Dec. 1298 (*Cart. Morav.*), and was buried in the Choir of the Cathedral.] (*Keith's Cat.*)

11. *David Moray*, was consecrated at Avignon by Boniface VIII. anno 1299, and died 20th Jan., 1325. He was buried in the Choir (*Ibid.*)

[*David Moray*, a son of the family of in the shire of was consecrated Bishop of this

See at Avignon [Agnania], in the time of Pope Boniface VIII. on the vigil of the holy apostles Peter and Paul [28 June], in the year 1299. He was Bishop here before the year 1309 (*Anderson's Independ. App. No. 14*), and anno 1309. (*Cart. Morav.*) He was Bishop anno 1311 and 1313. (*Cart. Aberbr.*) He was Bishop anno Rob. I. 7^{mo}. (*Cart. Scon. Aberb. and Hay*), anno 1330. (*Hay.*) But I suppose it ought to be more than 1320, by the date of his successor's consecration. This Prelate was the first who founded the Scots College at Paris in the year 1325, which foundation was confirmed by Charles le Bel, King of France, in the month of August, 1326. But the Bishop died 20th of January the same year [5 Idus Januarii 1325], before the College was fully established, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral.*] (*Keith's Cat.*)

[*David Moray* appears to have been Rector of Bothwell:—"David de Morref personne del Eglise de Bothuille." (*Instrumenta Publica. Bannatyne Club.*) In the *Ragman Rolls*, he is mentioned as having made his submission to Edward I. at Berwick in 1296. There seems to be little doubt that he was connected with the family De Moravia of Pettie and Bothwell, and that it was through their influence that he was raised to the See of Moray. This family had supported the cause of Robert the Bruce, the competitor for the throne in 1291; and now that the title to Royalty was revived by his grandson in 1306, the Bishop, as a staunch supporter of that House, used all his power and influence, by preaching and other means, to advance its interests within his Diocese. It is probable that these Crown-tenants of Pettie and Boharm now declared for Bruce, the grandson, in 1306, as they did for Bruce, the grandfather, in 1291. Edward was sojourning at Winchester when the intelligence reached him of the murder of Sir John Comyn, by Bruce and Roger de Kirkpatrick, before the Altar of the Church of the Convent of the Franciscan or Minorite Friars at Dumfries.

* In *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 1043, the Bishop of Moray is charged by Edward I. of England with assenting to the death of John Cumin. Being therefore excommunicated, he fled to Orkney, whereupon Edward wrote to Haken, King of Norway, requesting him to order the Bishop to be seized and sent to him.—6th March, 1306-7.

His first step was the immediate adoption of measures for strengthening the frontier fortresses, and the next the despatch of a special messenger to the Pope, praying for the aid of the Holy See in suppressing the Rebellion. At the Palace of Westminster he vowed to God and irreverently to two white Swans decked out with gold net-work and bells of gold which were introduced at a special banquet, that he would proceed to Scotland and not return thence till he executed vengeance on Bruce and his accomplices for the death of Comyn. A desperate engagement and battle at Methven completely defeated Bruce, who was during the brief conflict thrice unhorsed, and was on the eve of being captured. He ultimately escaped with his brother Edward Bruce, and several nobles—who lurked for several months houseless fugitives in the wilds of Athole. Several were arrested and consigned to captivity during the autumn and winter of 1306. The Countess of Buchan, who had made herself so obnoxious to Edward in consequence of the prominent part she took at Bruce's coronation, was subjected to imprisonment in a latticed cage, and exposed to view in one of the turrets on the walls of Berwick. The Bishop of Glasgow held out for some time in the Castle of Cupar, but was at last taken and sent in irons first to Newcastle and afterwards to Portchester Castle. David, Bishop of Moray, though still at large, and living in concealment, had charges of homicide and rebellion preferred against him, by Edward to the Pope. In "Palgrave's Documents" he is represented as having by his excitation, preaching, and exhortation, been the principal instigator of all those in Moray who assembled to assist, and still adhered to the cause of Bruce. The accusation goes on to state that the Bishop gave the people of his Diocese to understand that it was not less meritorious for them to rise and assist Lord Robert Bruce in throwing off the English yoke, than it was to proceed to the Holy Land and wage war with the Pagans and the Saracens. The other martial Prelates engaged in the insurrection, viz., the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Abbot of Scone, were found clad in armour when they were captured. They were sent in irons to prisons in England, and had also charges preferred against them to the Pope. Bruce and all his adherents who were accessories to the murder of Comyn, or guilty of perjury and

flagrant rebellion, were excommunicated by Cardinal St. Sabinus of Spain, the Papal Legate in England.

Whilst at Lynstock, Edward addressed a letter to Haquin, King of Norway, in reference to the Bishop of Moray, who had taken refuge in Orkney. He wrote that the Bishop, accumulating crime upon crime, adhered to Robert de Bruce, a traitor and his chief enemy, and that he instigated the people of Scotland to rise against him. In consideration, therefore, of the friendship and good understanding existing between them, Edward requested Haquin, King of Norway, to arrest the Bishop and all his other enemies taking refuge in the island, and to send them to him as soon as convenient. Further, in order that his sentence of excommunication might be fully known, so that the King of Norway and his subjects might shun all communication with the Bishop and his accomplices, Edward sent the tenor of the Papal Bull on the prolation of his sentence, written by a Notary Public.—Edward died on the 7th July, 1307, in his 69th year, at the village of Burgh-on-the-Sands, in Cumberland, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He strove personally, though weak and infirm, to avenge himself on the nation which had so often defied his power, but was ultimately compelled to succumb from sheer exhaustion of nature. At last, when unable to do more, in a spirit of fierce revenge, he bequeathed with his dying breath to his son the hatred which he bore to Scotland, and commanded him not to desist from carrying on the war, of which the annals of the Battle of Bannockburn exhibit such an inglorious defeat.

David Moray returned from Orkney to his Diocese immediately after the death of Edward. He witnessed (along with Walter Heroc and William Cresswell, the Dean and the Precentor of the Cathedral of Moray), the submission of the Earl of Ross to Bruce at Aldhern, in Oct. 1308. His name appears in several deeds after this date in the *Register of Moray*. (*Edward I. of England in the North of Scotland*, by James Taylor, M.D.)

12. *John Pilmoze [Pilmore]*, elect of Ross, was consecrated Bishop of Moray [by Pope John XXII. at Avignon], 3 Kal. Aprilis, anno 1326,

and died in the Castle of Spynie on Michaelmas Eve, anno 1362 (*Ibid.*).

[*John Pilmore*, erroneously called John Eglemore, by a mistake of the transcribers of *Fordun*, was son to Adam Pilmore, burgess of Dundee, as appears by an indenture, dated "in festo Sancti Valentini martyris, 1326," to which "Adam de Pilmore burgensis de Dundee" appends his seal, "una cum sigillo venerabilis in Christo patris Joannis Dei gratia, episcopi Moraviensis, filii ejusdem Adae de Pilmore." (*Ex Chartis Walteri Macfarlane de eodem.*) Elect for the See of Ross was consecrated Bishop of Moray 3rd Kal. April anno Domini 1325, by the hands of Pope John XXII. and by the Pope's own provision. (*Cart. Mor.*) This Bishop took great care to finish what his predecessor had begun in Paris, as appears from an authentic document in the year 1333. (*Preface to Dr. Mackenzie's 2nd Vol.*) This Establishment subsisted in the University of Paris, by the name of *Grisy*, until the time of the *Reformation*, and was always administered by the authority of the Bishops of Moray, who, in quality of founders and patrons, presented to the House, and settled directors and superiors thereof. —See *Bp. Robert Schaw*. He was Bishop here in the years 1331, 1334, 1343, 1351, 1360, and 1361. (*Cart. Morav.*) He was Bishop of Moray 37 years. (*Mr. King's MS.*) This Prelate died in the Castle of Spynie on the Vigil of St. Michael the Archangel, A.D. 1362 (*Cart. Morav.*), and yet we find Simon, Bishop of Moray in the year 1348 (*Cart. Morav. fol. 78*), which can no ways be reconciled with the long episcopate of John Pilmore, unless by supposing, as above, that the 3rd figure is placed instead of the 2nd, or more properly III. for II. He died at Spynie, 28th Sept., 1362.]—(*Keith's Cat.*)

Seal of Pilmore.—A fine design. Beneath a canopy is a representation of the Trinity. The Father, crowned with the cruciform nimbus, sitting and supporting between his knees the Son, extended on the cross; the Holy Spirit, in form of a dove, ascends from the head of the Son to the mouth of the Father. Surrounding this representation are four circular tablets, bearing the evangelistic emblems; the background is diapered with a lozenge, enclosing a rose. In the lower part of the seal, within

a niche, is the figure of a Bishop kneeling at prayer, and at each side is a shield ; the dexter bears, within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered, three cushions, and the sinister bears Scotland. The inscription on this seal is not quite perfect, but seems to be—"S. JOHIS D. PILMOR DEI ET APLI[CE SEDIS] GRA. EPL MOR[AVIENSIS]."

Counter Seal.—With a curious device and inscription, which unfortunately is illegible. The device is a crescent on the top of a column, and on each side is an ear of corn (?) "EX SPICI . . . TITA TANTE . . . COLUMNA . . . TA" (?) (A.D. 1357. *C. Innes.*)

13. *Alexander Barr*, or Bur, Doctor Decretorum, was consecrated by Urban V. anno 1362; died in Spynie 15th May, 1397, and was buried in the Cathedral. In his time, viz., in 1390, the Cathedral was burnt, and he began the rebuilding of it. (*Ibid.*)

[*Alexander Bar*, "decretorum doctor et licentiatus in legibus," was consecrated Bishop of this See at Avignon on the Saturday before Christmas, anno 1362, by Pope Urban V. He was Bishop in the years 1362, 3, 4, 5, 9—the 1st and 10th years of King Robert II.—1383, 6, 9, and 1396. (*Cart. Morav.*) Alexander is witness to several Charters in the 19th year of King Robert II. Alexander was bishop here anno 3*tio* Robert II., "in pleno Parliamento nostro apud Sconam, die tertio Aprilis." (*Mar et Cart. Aberd. et Ruddiman against Logan*, p. 400.)

This excellent Prelate was sadly harassed by Alexander, Earl of Buchan, youngest son of King Robert II., by Elizabeth Mure. In the month of June, 1390, on the Feast of St. Botolph, he did not only burn the Cathedral Church but also the whole town of Elgin, St. Giles' Church, an Hospital which is called "Domus Dei de Elgin," and 18 manses of the Canons and Chaplains. For this and other impieties he was deservedly called "The Wolf of Badenoch." He was excommunicated with the highest solemnities, from which he was afterwards, upon his repentance, absolved by Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, in the Church of the Blackfriars at Perth; being first received at the door of the Church, and then

before the Altar, in presence of the King and many of the nobility, the Earl at the same time being obliged to make what satisfaction he could to the See of Moray, and to obtain forgiveness from the Pope. He died the 15th of May, 1397 (*Cart. Morav.*), and was buried in the quire of the Cathedral. (Keith's *Cat.*)

An appeal was taken from the Bishop of Murray to the Bishop of St. Andrews, Conservator of the rights and privileges of the Scottish Church, 18th July, 1388, by William of Busby, Prior of Urquhart, against the collation of John the Mason to the said Priory. The appellant, William of Busby, somehow obtained the Priory with a Crown-writ under the Privy Seal, ordering the Bishop to maintain him in possession. But the King's final judgment, by advice of the clergy in Parliament, ordered him to be removed. (*Stat. Acc. Scot.*, Preface li.) In Robertson's *Index* the name is written *Burre*, and in other places *Bur*. The acceptable name is *Barr*.]

Seal of Barr.—This is merely a fragment of what has evidently been a fine seal, with a representation of the Trinity as in the former. (A.D. 1373.—*Kilravock Charters.*)

14. *William de Spynie*, Chanter of Moray and L.D., was consecrated at Avignon by Benedict IX., September 13th [16th], 1397, and died 20th August, 1406. He carried on the re-building of the Cathedral. In his time Alexander MacDonald plundered Elgin, as we shall see.

[*William Spynie*, Chanter of Moray and "Decretorum Doctor," was consecrated Bishop here by Pope Benedict XIII. on the 16th September, the third year of his pontificate, i.e., anno Dom. 1397. (*Cart. Morav.*) In the year 1398 this Bishop names his predecessors—Archibald, David, John, and Alexander. (*C. Morav.*) He died in the Chanony of Elgin [the Bishop's town residence] the 2nd day of August, 1406 (*C. Morav.*), and was buried in the quire with his predecessors.] (Keith's *Cat.*)

15. *John Innes*, Laird of Innes, Parson of Duffus, Archdeacon of Caithness [*MSS.*, p. Rose

of Montcoffer], and LL.D. [quy. LL.B.], was consecrated by Pope Gregory XII. 23rd January, 1406, and died 25th April, 1414. He began the building of the Great Steeple in the centre of the Church, and was buried at the foot of the north-west pillar of it.

[*John Innes*, Parson of Duffus and Bachelor of Laws, was consecrated the 23rd January, anno 1406-7, by Pope Benedict XIII.* (*Cart. Mor.*) [a Rival Pope]. He was Bishop here anno 1408 (*Reg. Chart.*), and died the 25th April, 1414 (*C. Morav.*), and was buried at the foot of the north-west pillar which supported the great tower or third steeple, now fallen. After the death of this prelate, on the 18th of May following the Chapter met in order to elect a Bishop; but before they proceeded to the election they all solemnly swore that whosoever of their number should happen to be chosen Bishop of Moray should set apart one-third of the revenues of the See for repairing the Cathedral, which had been greatly demolished in the time of Bishop Alexander Bar.] (Keith's *Cat.*)

In Monteith's *Theater of Mortality*, p. 251, A.D. 1704, is given the following Inscription on the Monument reared to his memory, now demolished :—

HIC JACET REVERENDUS IN CHRISTO PATER D.D. JOANNES DE INNES, HUJUS ECCLESIAE QUONDAM EPISCOPUS MORAVIENSIS, QUI HOC NOTABILE OPUS EXTRUXIT, ET PER SEPTENNIUM EPISCOPALE MUNUS TENUIT.

16. *Henry Leighton*, Parson of Duffus, LL.D., consecrated in Valencia by Pope Benedict, 8th March, 1414. He was translated to Aberdeen anno 1425.

[*Henry Leighton*, or *Leichton* [or *De Lychton*], Parson of Duffus and Chanter of Moray, "Legum Doctor et

* As may be seen from the List of Popes (given at the end of the Preface) there have been 40 years' disputed succession and numerous Anti-Popes or Rival Popes. Query, Which of them were set apart by the Holy Ghost? Were their own consecrations and those whom they ordained valid or spurious? (Ed.)

Baccalaureus in Decretis," a son of the ancient family of the Leichtons of Ulys-haven, or Usan, in *vicecom.* de Forfar. He was Bishop of Moray 10 years (*Mr. King's MS.*), was consecrated Bishop of this See, "in civitate Valencia Terraconen. Provinciae," on the 8th March, 1414-5, and was Bishop here anno 1421 (*Cart. Mor.*), anno 1423 (*Inv. Aberd.*), anno 1424 (*Reg. Cart.*). In the year 1424 or 1425 he was translated to the See of Aberdeen. (*Keith's Cat.*)

Leighton was one of the Canons of the Cathedral, and was consecrated at Valentia by Benedict XIII. on 8th March, 1415, being the third Bishop of Moray who was consecrated in succession by that Pope. (Grub's *Ecc. Hist. Scot.*, Vol. I., 368.) See Note last page.

Henry de Lichton's father was of the same name, and his mother's name was Jonet. His first preferment in the Church seems to have been in the Cathedral of Moray, of which he was Canon and Chanter. In 1414 he assisted at a meeting of the Chapter of Moray held upon the decease of Bishop John de Innes, who had begun the first restoration of the Cathedral, where it was resolved that whichever of the Canons succeeded him should devote a third part of his revenue to the expense of rebuilding the Cathedral until its completion, destroyed in Bishop Bar's time by the "Wolf of Badenoch." The choice fell on the Chanter. He was present at the meeting of the estates of Perth in March, 1415. While Bishop of Moray, he presented to the Church of Aberdeen two pairs of Episcopal gloves, with jewelled images of SS. James and John. As Bishop of Aberdeen he witnessed a Charter on the 20th Feb., 1423, founding a Chaplainry at St. Mary's Altar in the choir of the Cathedral. Bishop Lesly informs that he was one of the Commissioners to England to arrange the ransom of King James I. After the King's return from his imprisonment the Bishop was one of those selected for an Embassy to Rome, from which he appears to have returned before the 20th June, 1427, on which day, at the desire of the Abbot and Convent of Arbroath, he confirmed to their Cell at Ardlogy the vicarage of their Church at Fyvie. On the 28th October, 1427, he converted the revenues of St. Peter's Hospital (a foundation of Bishop Matthew), which he alleged to have been abused, to the maintenance of his Episcopal table and

support of two Chaplains in St. Peter's Chapel in the Cathedral, a questionable transaction which was sanctioned by Pope Eugenius IV. in 1435. On the 17th July, 1428, letters passed the great seal appointing him one of the three Ambassadors to the French Court for treating of the marriage of the infant Princess of Scotland with the Dauphin. He was still in Scotland on the 7th Aug. of that year, and seems to have returned from his Embassy before the 9th October, 1431, on which day he made a transaction at Aberdeen for enlarging the Episcopal Palace or its grounds. On the 20th April, 1439, he founded an Anniversary for himself; and on the 16th May, 1440, he made a similar endowment to the Vicars of the Choir for the Anniversaries of his father and mother. When now approaching his end he is said to have been chosen, along with the Bishop of Moray, as mediator between the factions of the Chancellor Crichton and the Livingstons.

Bishop Lichton died on the 14th December, 1440.

During his Episcopate at Aberdeen he made several donations to the Cathedral of books, vestments, and plate. He founded the Chapel of St. John, in which he was afterwards buried. He completed the walls of St. Machar's Cathedral and the two western towers, leaving the third (probably the great centre tower) unfinished at his death.] (Vide Preface xxxvi. *Regis. Epis. Aberd.*)

17. *David* [omitted by Shaw] was Bishop of Moray anno 1629 (*Reg. Cart.*) (*Keith's Cat.*)

18. *Columba Dunbar* succeeded. He died in Spynie anno 1435.

[*Columba Dunbar* descended of the Earls of Moray [March, not Moray], was Dean of Dunbar. He is designed "Decanus ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Dunbar, penultimo Februarii, 1411" (*Regis. Cart.*), and then promoted to this See. *Columba* was Bishop here in the year 1429 (*C. Dunferl.*), but as the date appears to have been on the 12th Jan., this will bring it to be 1430, and thereby the date of the foregoing Bishop may quadrate well enough. There is a safe-conduct to this Bishop from the King of England to pass through his dominions in his way to

Rome, in the year 1433, with 30 servants in his retinue ; as also another dated 10th May, 1434, to go through England to the Council of Basil. (*Rymer, Tom., x.*, p. 584.) Upon his return home he died in his Castle of Spynie anno 1435, and was buried in the aisle of St. Thomas the Martyr—*i.e.*, Thomas à Becket. (*Spottiswoode's MS.*)] (Keith's *Cat.*)

19. *John Winchester*, L.B., Chaplain to King James II., was consecrated in Cambuskenneth anno 1438. In 1452 he obtained the Regality of Spynie. Died 1453. [1st April, 1460.]

[*John Winchester*, an Englishman, who came into Scotland in the retinue of King James I. Bachelor of the Canon Law anno 1425. His first station in the Church, besides being Chaplain to the King, was a Prebendary of Dunkeld ; and he came afterwards to be Provost of Lincluden and Lord Register. (*Reg. et Charta penes dominum Gray.*) In King James I.'s Charter of confirmation of the Monastery of Aberbrothic, Jan. 1, 1436-7, he is “electo et confirmat. Episcopo Moravien.” He was consecrated “in Festo Sanctae Crucis,” within the Monastery of Cambuskenneth, in the year 1437 [1438, Shaw]. John was Bishop of this See anno 1439 (*Peerage*, p. 278), and anno 1440, 49, 51, 52, 57, 59 (*Reg. Cart.*), 1449 (*C. Glas.*), 1445 and 1451 (*C. Mor.*), 1451, (*C. Dunfer.*), 1452 (*Fordun*) ; and John was Bishop here anno 1452 and 1453, et reg. 18. (*Inv. Aberd.*) This Prelate was employed in divers embassies into England during the minority of King James II. (*Rymer*) ; and accordingly we see the following writ of that King in the Cartulary of his See :—“Sciatis nos,—et propter grata obsequia quondam genitori nostro recolendae memoriae, per Reverend. in Christo Patrem Johannem Episcopum Moravien. consiliarium nostrum dilectum temporibus suis multipliciter impensa, et per eundem nobis fideliter continuata, et ad ejus preces et instantiam ipsi Episcopo—fecisse et infeodasse villam de Spynie, liberum burgum in baronia,” 1451, and again 1452. He died anno Dom. 1458, and was buried in St. Mary's Aisle within the Cathedral. (*Spottiswoode's MS.*) (Keith's *Cat.*)

"Anno M^o. IV^c. Ixij obiit Johanes Wynsist. eps. Moravien." (*Harl. MS.*, 2363.)

Seal of Winchester.—This and the following seals of the Bishops of Moray are all of a round shape. A representation of the Trinity. In this the right hand of the Father is raised, and the fingers are beneath a canopy, supported with pillars. The inscription is on a scroll surrounding. "S ROTUNDU, JOHANNIS EPI. MORAVIEN." (*Detached Seal, C. Innes.*)

20. *James Stewart*, Dean of Moray, of the family of Lorn, was consecrated anno 1458, and died 1460.

[*James Stewart*, a branch of the illustrious family of Lorn, was first Dean of this See. (*Cart. Publ.*) He came afterwards to be Lord Treasurer anno 1453 (*Regist. Cart.*), and upon the death of Bishop Winchester in the year 1458-9, he was advanced to this Bishopric. He was Bishop here anno 1460 (*Cart. Mor.*), but he lived only two years, and was buried in St. Peter's and St. Paul's Aisle, on the north side of the Cathedral. (*Spottiswoode's MS.*) (*Keith's Cat.*)

The two following entries occur in *Harl. MS.*, 2363:—"Anno M^o. 4^c lxxvij^d v. die mensis Augusti obiit Jacobus Stewart eps. Moravien."

"Anno M^o. 4^c lxx. sexto obiit Dauid Stewart fs. predicti Jacobi epi. Moravien."]

Seal of Stewart.—A well executed design, partly broken at the top. A shield, bearing a fess counter compony (no doubt meant for a fess cheque) between three crowns, within a plain double tressure; part of a crozier appears below the shield; the background ornamented with foliage. "(S) JACOBI EPISCOPI MORAVIENSIS." (*Detached Seal, C. Innes.*)

21. *David Stewart*, brother of the former, and Parson of Spynie, was consecrated anno 1461, and died 1475. He built that part of the palace called "Davy's Tower," and made several good regulations—as that no Canon be admitted except in general convocation; that the common Kirk

Lands be set to none but the labourers of the ground; and that no pensions should be given out of these lands.

[*David Stewart*, brother to the former Bishop and Parson of Spynie, [Duffus?] was in this See in the year 1463. (*Cart. Dunfer.*) According to *Mr. King's MS.* he was Bishop of Moray in 1461. According to *Cart. Morav.* in 1464, and anno 1468 and 1470 (*Regist. Chart.*) He built the great tower of Spynie Castle, a mighty strong house. It is called to this day "David's Tower." He was disquieted by Alexander, Earl of Huntly, who withheld the feu-duties of such lands as held of the See of Moray within the lordship and bounds of Strathbogie. The Earl, for his obstinacy and sacrilege, was excommunicated; but at last by the mediation and good offices of the Abbot of Kinloss, the Prior of Pluscarden, and several others, matters were made up, and the Earl absolved, after satisfaction and submission made. This good prelate made several wise regulations, and after he had governed the See of Moray for 14 years, he died [1475] and was buried in the same aisle with his brother. He was buried in St. Peter's and St. Paul's Aisle, on the north of the Cathedral Church. (*Spottiswoode's MS.*)] (*Keith's Cat.*)

22. *William Tulloch*, Bishop of Orkney, was translated to Moray anno 1477, and died anno 1482.

[*William Tulloch*, cousin to the former Bishop of Orkney in 1422, viz., Thomas Tulloch, of the House of Bonnington in Forfarshire, was Bishop of Orkney in the reign of King James III., and was sent by that Prince into Denmark in the year 1468, together with several other noble personages, to negotiate a marriage betwixt him and the Princess Margaret of that nation, which they had the good fortune to effectuate. In 1471 he was appointed one of the Administrators of the Exchequer. (*Retul. Jac. III.*) He was likewise made Lord Privy Seal, 26 March, 1473, an. reg. 13. He was one of the Ambassadors sent to England, 1471. (*Rymer, Tom.*, ii.,

p. 717.) The same, 15 March, 1472. (*Rymer.*) He was translated to the See of Moray in the year 1477; for in the Parliament, anno 1476, which restored the Earl of Ross, he was still Bishop of Orkney and Privy Seal; but in a Charter, anno 1477, he is become Bishop of Moray and keeper of the Privy Seal. He was Bishop here and Privy Seal anno 1478, and 27th July, 1479. (*Aberbro.*) He was Bishop also anno 1478-79-81 and Privy Seal. (*Regist. Chart.*) He was buried in St. Mary's Aisle, in the Canony Church of Moray, and must have died at least in the year 1482.] (*Keith's Cat.*)

23. *Andrew Stewart*, son of Sir James Stewart of Lorn, and of the widow of King James I., Dean of Moray and Lord Privy Seal, succeeded anno 1483. In 1488 he got a ratification of the Regality of Spynie, and died anno 1501.

[*Andrew Stewart*, third son of Sir James Stewart, surnamed "The Black Knight of Lorn" by Jane Queen Dowager of Scotland, the widow of King James I., succeeded in 1482. In the year 1456 this gentleman was Sub-Dean of Glasgow and Rector of Monkland. (*Wrts of the College of Glasgow.*) Anno 1477 he is Provost of Lincluden, and retained his Sub-Deanery *in commendam*; and the same year he was elected Dean of Faculty in the University of Glasgow. (*Ibidem.*) He was Elect of Moray and Lord Privy Seal in the month of July, 1482; and "Electus, confirmatus, Moravien." is in the rolls of Parliament, December 2, 1482, in which year the King calls him "dilecto avunculo nostro Andrea, electo Moravien. secreti sigilli custode." (*R. Chart.*) But the Privy Seal he resigned upon his consecration in the year 1483. Andrew, Elect of Moray, is witness in a Charter to Alexander, Duke of Albany, Lord Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom and High Admiral. The paper wants a date, but one of the co-witnesses is John, Bishop of Glasgow, who died in January, 1482-3; and James, Bishop of Dunkeld, another witness, died anno 1483. He is Bishop here anno 1487. (*Ibid.*) In the year 1488 there is a confirmation by King James III., and a new enlargement of the burgh of Spynie, 16th April, 1488 (*C. Morav.*),

which was only two months before the slaughter of the King. He was Bishop here anno 1492 (*C. Morav.*, *C. Aberbr.*, *Assed. Aberbr.*, it. *Hay*), anno 1492, and 94 (*Reg. Cart.*), anno 1496 (*C. Cumbusk.*). "Andreas Episcopus Moraviensis. frater-germanus Jacobi comitis de Buchan," anno 1501. (*Reg. Chart.*) And in that year, 1501, he died (*Ibid.*), and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral.] (*Keith's Cat.*)

Seal of Stewart.—Rather defaced. The design is the usual representation of the Trinity. At the lower part of the seal is a shield, but the charges are indistinct; above the shield is the crozier and mitre. The background ornamented with foliage. "S' ANDREE STEWART EPI. MORAV[IE]NSIS". (A.D. 1490.—*Kilravock Charters.*)

24. *Andrew Forman*, Commendator of Dryburgh and Pittenweem, succeeded in 1501, and was translated to St. Andrews 1514.

[*Andrew Forman*, a son of the Laird of Hutton, in Berwickshire, was Proto-Notary Apostolic in Scotland anno 1499. (*Reg. Chart.*) He was Postulate of Moray in the year 1501, at which time he gets a commission, together with Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, to treat about a marriage betwixt James IV. and Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., King of England; and he himself gets a subsequent commission to treat of a peace betwixt the two nations. (*Reg. Chart.*) In the same year, 1501, he was fully promoted to this See; and, together with it, held *in commendam* the Priories of Pittenweem, in Scotland, and of Cottingham, in England. Andrew is Bishop of Moray 10 July, 1502, the 5th indiction, and 10th of Pope Alexander VII. (*Mare et Clackmannan.*) He is "Episcopus Moraviensis. et commendarius de Pittenweem, in Scotia, et Cottingham, in Anglia," anno 1503-4, item 1506. (*Reg. Chart.*) Jan. 2, 1506, 9th indiction, and 3rd of Pope Julius II. King James IV. appoints him his Ambassador to England, in order to procure a personal conference betwixt him and Henry, then King of England, therein expressly designed "Frater et consanguineus noster amantissimus," as appears by the commission given him, dated at Edinburgh, "19th

Julii, anno regni nostri 22" (*i.e.*, 1510—*Macfarl.*) This commission is recorded by *Rymer*, Tom. x., p. 376, but erroneously put under the year 1427, and so ascribed to the times of James I. and Henry VI. He is designed Andrew, Bishop of Moray, Commendator of Pittenweem and Cotttingham, in England. (*Clack.*) He was Bishop anno 1512 (*Cart. Mor.*), and bears the title of "Andreas, miseratione divina, Moravien. Episcopus, commendatarius perpet. monasteriorum de Dryburgh et Pittinveme, et Cotttingham in Anglia, Sti Andreeae et Eboracen. Diocesium." And he is styled Bishop of Moray and Commendator of Dryburgh and Pittenweem in a treaty of confederation made at Edinburgh, 10th July 1512.

In Young's account of the marriage of James IV. with Margaret of England, we find that the Bishop of Moray was employed by his Sovereign as one of the Commissioners who, at the Court of Henry VII., arranged the royal nuptials. (See *Leland's Collectanea*, p. 258.) In the year 1514 he was translated to the Archiepiscopal See of St. Andrews. He died and was buried in Dunfermline in 1522. (See my *Scotichronicon*, I., 242-245.)

Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, and Papal Legate for Scotland, being obliged to say grace at an entertainment which he gave to the Pope and Cardinals in Rome, blundered so in his Latinity that his Holiness and their Eminences lost their gravity, which so disconcerted the Bishop that he concluded the blessing by giving all "the false carles to the Devil, *In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti;*" to which the company, not understanding his Scoto-Latin, said *Amen!* "The holy Bishop," says Pittscottie, "was not a good scholar, and had not good Latin."] (M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 9.)

Seal of Forman.—A beautifully designed and executed seal. Unfortunately it is a little broken, the parts that remain are, however, very perfect. A triple canopy, richly ornamented, and supported by slender pillars. Beneath the centre one the usual representation of the Trinity; beneath the dexter canopy the Blessed Virgin and infant Jesus; beneath the sinister a figure of Mary Magdalene, with the box of spikenard; the background diapered with a lozenge, enclosing a *fleur-de-lis*. At the lower part of the seal is a shield, the upper part of which only remains, showing it to have been quarterly; first a chevron, between three fishes haurient, for Forman; second, a

gander, with a bell fastened to his neck. "S' ANDREE EPI. MO[RAVIENS. COM]MENDA[TARII DE COLDINGH]AM ET COTTINGHAM." (*Kilravock Charters.*)

25. *James Hepburn* succeeded in 1514, and died anno 1523.

[*James Hepburn*, third son of Adam Lord Hales, and brother to Patrick, the first Earl of Bothwell, had been Rector of Parton, and in the year 1515 Abbot of Dunfermline (*State Letters*), and on the 15th June, the same year, had been constituted Lord Treasurer. Anno 1516 he became Bishop of Moray, and on the 3rd October, the same year, he quitted the Treasury. He is designed "Rector de Partoun, nunc Moravien. ecclesiae postulatus" (*Reg. Cart.*); and anno 1516 and 17 he is Bishop of Moray. (*Ibid.*) He was Bishop here anno 1520. (*Cart. Mor. et Aberbr.*) He was Bishop anno 1521 (*Cart. Cambusk.*), and he was Bishop here anno 1524 (*Cart. Morav.*), in which year he died, and was buried in our Lady's Aisle, near to the Earl of Huntly's tomb. (*Mr. King's MS.*)] (*Keith's Cat.*)

[He died before November, 1524, when the Earl of Angus wrote to Cardinal Wolsey to solicit the Pope for the Bishopric of Moray and Abbacy of Melrose for his brother—"whilkis are baith vacant."]

Seal of Hepburn.—This is much broken, but it seems to have been a good design, though inferior to the last. The usual representation of the Trinity within a niche; the sides of the seal filled up with foliage. In the lower part of the seal a shield, bearing on a chevron, a rose between two lions counter passant; in base, a charge in form of a heart-shaped buckle; above the shield a mitre. "SIG[ILLUM JACOBI] EPI. MORA[VI]EN." (A.D. 1523.—*Kilravock Charters.*)

26. *Robert Shaw*, son of Sauchie and Abbot of Paisley, was consecrated anno 1525, and died 1528.

[*Robert Shaw*, a son of the Laird of Sauchie, in the shire of Stirling, was elected Abbot of Paisley upon the resignation of his own uncle, George, for which he obtained the King's letters patent the 1st March, 1498. (*Cart.*

Pub.) He was advanced to this See of Moray 1524. He is Bishop here 5th February, 1524-5. (*Cartul. Aberbr.*) He is in a commission of embassy to England during the time he was Bishop. (*Rymer.*) He died in the year 1527, and was buried between the sepulchres of Bishop Alexander Stewart and Andrew Stewart, his brother (*Mr. King's MS.*), and has the character of a man of great virtue (*Spottiswoode's MS.*)] (Keith's *Cat.*)

27. *Alexander Stewart*, son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, who was son of King James II., succeeded, and died anno 1535.

[*Alexander Stewart*, son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, son to King James II., by Katherine Sinclair, then his wife, daughter of William, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, was the next Bishop. Their marriage having, by Act of Parliament, been declared unlawful, long after they were both dead, this gentleman was declared illegitimate in the year 1516, whereupon he betook himself to the service of the Church, and had first the Priory of Whithorn bestowed upon him, afterwards the Abbey of Inchaffray, and then the government of the Abbey of Scone was given him by his brother John, Duke of Albany, now become Regent of the Kingdom; and, last of all, he was made Bishop of Moray anno 1527. He is Bishop here anno 1530 (*Cartul. Aberbr.*), and anno 1532 (*Reg. Chart. et Cart. Morav.*) He died Bishop here [19 December], it is said, anno 1534 [as appears from the gift of the Temporality of Moray to the Prior of St. Andrews, 28th March, 1535.] Certain it is that, in the year 1538, he is styled "quondam Alexandro episcopo Moraviensi." (*Reg. Cart.*, B. 22, No. 115). He was buried in the Monastery of Scone. (*Mr. King's MS.*)] (Keith's *Cat.*)

Keith observes that he is said to have died anno 1534. But, query, whether he was not living three years after that time, viz., in 1537. (*Bishop Russell's Notes to Keith's Cat.*)

28. *Patrick Hepburn*, uncle to James, Earl of Bothwell, who murdered King Henry Stewart, Commendator of Scone, was consecrated anno

1537. [?] He was a man of an abandoned character. Having concealed and aided his nephew when he fled from justice anno 1567, he purchased his own safety by yielding up a portion of the Church lands. He aliened and feued out almost all the other lands of the Bishopric. He died in the Castle of Spynie 20th June, 1573. (MS.)

[*Patrick Hepburn*, son to Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell, being educated by his uncle John, Prior of St. Andrews, came to be his successor in that Priory anno 1522. In the year 1524 he was made Secretary, in which office he continued until the year 1527. He was advanced to the See of Moray anno 1535, and at the same time he held the Abbey of Scone in perpetual *commendam*. (*Reg. Cart.* anno 1539-40). He was Bishop anno 1539 (*C. Mor.*), anno 1446 (*Register of Pr. Council*), anno 1561 (*Keith's History*, App., p. 175), and anno 1568 (*Errol*). “*Patricius episcopus Morav.*” subscribes the letters, in name of the community of Scotland, for empowering to treat about the marriage of our Queen Mary with Francis Dauphin of France. Upon the Reformation he had the fate of the other Prelates, but kept possession of his Episcopal palace till his death, which happened at Spynie Castle the 20th of June, 1573 (*Mr. King's MS.*), and was buried in the quire of the Cathedral Church. [“*Patrick, Bishop of Murray, Commendator of the Abbey of Scone, grants a Charter to Richard Smyth of the lands of Over Fingask, dated 18th August, 1581, confirmed 30th April, 1586.*”] (*Riddle's MS. Notes.*) In the Cartulary of this See are to be seen a great many tacks of the lands pertaining to this Bishopric, leased out by him at and after the year 1540, from a foresight, no doubt, of what was coming on; and in all the assedations he had the additional title of “*Monasterii de Scona commendatarius perpetuus.*”] (*Keith's Cat.*)

[Knox has been blamed for recording this “merry board” or jest (to wit, “I am the youngest man, and yet have I had the round dozen, and seven of them are men's wives”); but under the Great Seal there passed the fol-

lowing letters of legitimation :—(1) “Johanni et Patricio Hepburn, bastardis filiis naturalibus Patricii Prioris Sancti Andreæ,” 18th Dec., 1533. Also (2), “Legitimatio Adami, Patricii, Georgii, Johannis, et Patricii Hepburn, bastardorum filiorum naturalium Patricii Episcopi Moraviensis,” 4th October, 1545. And (3), “Legitimatio Jonetæ et Agnetis Hepburn, bastardorum filiorum naturalium Patricii Moraviensis Episcopi.” Here are no less than nine bastards evidently by different mothers. (4) Agnes Hepburn, another daughter, was also legitimated on the 8th Feb., 1587.” (Dr. David Laing’s *Edition of Knox’s Works*, i., 41., Note.)

He found the Bishopric in good condition, but he feued out all the lands belonging to it. “He lived long enough to dilapidate his great Bishopric, and to provide for a very large family, whose several legitimations stand on record.” (*Quarterly Review*, 1851, vol. 39, p. 46, l. 21.)]

Seal of Hepburn.—Under a canopy a representation of the Trinity (?), differing, however, from the usual design. The Father here appears to be veiled, and has a mitre or conical cap on his head (?); there is no appearance of the Holy Spirit, so it may be doubtful if it be meant for the Trinity. On the dexter side is a full length figure of the Virgin and infant Jesus; and on the sinister, a figure of St. Michael in combat with the dragon. In the lower part of the seal is a shield, bearing Hepburn, with mullet in base. “S’ PATRICII HEPBURN EPI. MORAVIEN. AC COMMENDATARI DE Sco.” (G. Smythe.).

The ancient Hierarchy ended with James Bethune, or Beaton, or Betoun (Archbishop of Glasgow, and nephew of the celebrated and murdered Cardinal), who died at Paris on the 25th April, 1603, aged 79. After being subjected to the jurisdiction of the Archpriests and first Vicar-Apostolic of England till 1623, and afterwards to local Prefects of the Mission, the clergy were incorporated into a Missionary body by Decree of Propaganda, 1653, and governed by the following:—

PREFECTS APOSTOLIC.

William Bannatyne (or Bellenden), -	-	-	1653-61
Alexander Dunbar (or Winster, or Winchester),	{	1662-68	
John Walker (or Ross), -	-	-	1672-94
		-	1668-71

In May, 1694, a *Scottish Vicariate Apostolic* was formed, which was divided, in Feb., 1731, into two Districts, viz., the *Lowland* and the *Highland*. By Papal Rescript of 13th Feb., 1827, these were increased to three Districts, viz., the *Eastern*, *Western*, and *Northern*. This last arrangement remained in force till the re-establishment of the Hierarchy by the Apostolic Letter, *Ex Supremo*, 4th March, 1878.

See "The Catholic Church in Scotland from the Suppression of the Hierarchy till the present time: being Memorabilia of Bishops, Missioners, and Scotch Jesuits," edited by me in 1869.

ROMAN BISHOPS, OR VICARS APOSTOLIC, OF SCOTLAND, 1694.

Name.	Title.	Consecrated.	Died.
1 Thomas Nicolson,	Peristachium,	Feb. 27, 1695...Oct. 23, 1718	
2 James Gordon,	Nicopolis,	Apr. 11, 1706...Mar. 1, 1746	
3 John Wallace, Coadj.,	Cyrrha,	Oct. 2, 1720...July 11, 1733	

LOWLAND DISTRICT, 1731.

James Gordon, as above.

4 Alexander Smith,	Misinopolis,	Nov. 13, 1735...Aug. 21, 1766	
5 James Grant,	Sinita,	Nov. 13, 1755...Dec. 2, 1778	
6 George Hay,	Daulis,	May 21, 1769...Oct. 15, 1811	
7 John Geddes, Coadj.,	Morocco,	Nov. 30, 1780...Feb. 11, 1799	
8 Alexander Cameron,	Maximianopolis,	Oct. 28, 1798...Feb. 7, 1828	

HIGHLAND DISTRICT, 1731.

9 Hugh Macdonald,	Diana,	Oct. 2, 1731...Mar. 12, 1773	
10 John Macdonald,	Tiberiopolis	Sept. 27, 1761...May 9, 1779	
11 Alexander Macdonald,	Polemo,	Mar. 12, 1780...Sept. 9, 1791	
12 John Chisholm,	Oria,	Feb. 12, 1792...July 8, 1814	
13 Æneas Chisholm,	Diocæsarea,	Sept. 15, 1805...July 31, 1818	
14 Ranald Macdonald,	Aeryndela,	Feb. —, 1820...Sept. 20, 1832	

EASTERN DISTRICT, 1828.

15 Alexander Paterson,	Cybistra,	Aug. 15, 1816...Oct. 28, 1831	
16 Andrew Carruthers,	Ceramis,	Jan. 13, 1833...May 24, 1852	
17 James Gillis,	Limyra,	July 22, 1838...Feb. 24, 1864	
18 John Strain,	Abila,	Sept. 25, 1864... —	—

Translated as Abp. of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, March 15, 1878.

WESTERN DISTRICT, 1828.

19 Andrew Scott,	Eretria,	Sept. 21, 1828...Dec. 4, 1846	
20 John Murdoch,	Castabala,	Oct. 20, 1833... — 15, 1865	
21 Alexander Smith, Coadj.,	Parium,	Oct. 3, 1847...June 15, 1861	
22 John Gray,	Hypsopolis,	Oct. 19, 1862... — —	
23 James Lynch, Coadj.,	Arcadiopolis	Nov. 4, 1866... — —	

Translated to Kildare and Leighlin as Coadjutor.

24 Charles Peter Eyre, Abp., Anazarba,		Jan. 31, 1869... — —	
Translated as Abp. of Glasgow, March 15, 1878.			

NORTHERN DISTRICT, 1828.

25 James Kyle,*	Germanicia,	Sept. 20, 1828...Feb. 23, 1869	
26 John Macdonald,	Nicopolis,	Feb. 24, 1869... — —	

Translated to Aberdeen, March 15, 1878.

* Bishop Kyle lived in primitive but hospitable simplicity, and died at Preshome, a spot which has so many attractions and

THE HIERARCHICAL DIOCESE OF ABERDEEN

Comprises the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, Caithness, Cromarty, Elgin or Moray, Inverness (north of a straight line drawn from the extreme north of Loch Luing to the junction of the counties of Inverness, Aberdeen, and Banff), Kincardine, Nairn, Ross (except the island of Lewes), Sutherland, and the Orkney and Shetland Islands.

BISHOP OF ABERDEEN.

The Right Rev. John Macdonald, D.D., born in Strathglass on the 2nd July, 1818; ordained at Preshome on the 4th Nov., 1841. Taken from Eskadale, he was consecrated by Bishop Chadwick of Hexham and Newcastle at Aberdeen on the 24th Feb., 1869 (on the day before Bishop Kyle's death), as Bishop of Nicopolis and Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District. Translated to the See of Aberdeen by Brief of the 15th March, 1878. Residence —Bishop's House, Queen's Road, Aberdeen.] (ED.)

These were the Bishops in the See of Moray before the Reformation.

Let us now look into

THE DIOCESE

In which they officiated. It was always called "The Diocese of Moray," but what the extent of it was, at its first erection, I shall not pretend to determine.

In the year 1142, the Diocese of Aberdeen

associations. An impediment in his utterance was an obstacle to him as an orator. Albeit he was an able divine, and first-rate Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar. He was also deeply versed in the antiquities and literature of Scotland. He supplied the *Spalding Club* with several valuable documents, and discovered a key to the cypher in which several of the letters of Queen Mary were written. He was singularly unostentatious and charitable, acting more as a father to his clergy than as a superior. When Professor at Aquhorties, he devoted his leisure hours to printing and mechanics. (ED.)

extended over the counties of Aberdeen and Banff ; and if the extent of these counties was at that time what it is now, no part of the Diocese of Moray could, in 1142, lie within them. But afterward, and right early, I find a part of the Diocese of Moray within the counties both of Aberdeen and Banff.

In the time of Bishop Brictius, the parishes of Strathavon, Ruthven, Arntullie, and Glass ; and in the Episcopate of Bishop Andrew Moray, Rynie, Dunbenan, Kinore, Inverkethnie, and Botarie were within the Diocese of Moray. Thus it extended to the east as far as it did any time after.

To the west, Abertarf, in the time of Brictius and Fernua, anno 1239, were comprehended in it. I do not find that any part of this Diocese lay beyond the river of Farar or Beaulie, which is the bounding of Ross ; for although the Bishop of Moray had lands in Ross, Strathnaver, Culleen, Banff, these were no part of his Episcopal charge.

In the *Procurationes Decanatum*, the rural Deanery or Archipresbyterate of Strathbogie is included ; and comprehends, besides Drumblade and Inverkeithny, now in the Synod of Aberdeen, the whole Presbytery of Strathbogie, except Mortlach, Botriphnie, Bellie, and Grange.

Mortlach, the mother Church, was within the Diocese of Aberdeen till the year 1706.

Botriphnie was at that time probably a part of the parish of Mortlach or of Keith.

Bellie, depending on the Priory of Urquhart, was probably exempt from the *Procurationes*.

Grange was a part of the parish of Keith, and was disjoined and erected into a distinct parish in the year 1618. (*Rec. Presbytery of Strathb.*)

In the Deanery of Strathspey, Laggan, in Badenoch, is included ; and anno 1139, Laggan was in the Diocese of Moray.

How early these *Procurationes* were drawn up, I know not ; but without regard to them, it appears that, in the beginning of the 13th century, the Diocese extended from Rhynie in the east to Abertarf in the south-west, and comprehended what are now the counties of Moray and Nairn, and a considerable part of the counties of Inverness and Banff, and some parishes in the county of Aberdeen.

Let me only add that at an enquiry made by David, Prince of Cumberland (afterward King David I.) into the ancient possessions of the Church of Glasgow, Pentejacob is called one of them ; and in a charter to that Church, posterior to the enquiry, Pentejacob is said to be Glenmoriston. (*Dalr. Coll.*) But why Glenmoriston was so called, or depended on the Church of Glasgow, I know not. Such was the Diocese.

Let me next give some account of

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

In the Primitive Christian Church the Bishop sat as Preses in the Consessus or College of Presbyters, in a cathedra or chair allotted to him. The pride and vanity of after ages, when Bishops affected to imitate the grandeur of princes, turned the humble cathedra into a throne. The Bishop's own Church, in which he officiated, was called the Cathedral Church of the Diocese. It is probable that the first six Bishops of Moray had no fixed Cathedral, but served in Birnie, Spynie, or Kinnedar, as they affected.

Bishop Bricius insinuates as much, and, mentioning Birnie first, seems to hint that it was the Bishop's Church. It is a pleasant well-aired situation within two miles of the town of Elgin, and the 4th Bishop was there buried. The present Church of Birnie is built with a choir and nave; but it does not appear to be the fabric that was there in those early times.

There are no vestiges or tradition of a palace, except a place called the Castle Hill.

Probably the revenues in those days were so small and so precarious, that they did not admit of stately Churches or palaces.

The first six Bishops having shifted from one place to another, as fancy or conveniency prompted them, Bishop Bricius, who was consecrated anno 1203, applied to Pope Innocent to

have a Cathedral fixed for the Bishops of Moray. That Pope appointed the Bishops of St. Andrews, and Brechin, and the Abbot of Lindores, to repair to Moray, and to declare the Church of the Holy Trinity at Spynie to be the Cathedral of the Diocese in all time coming, which they accordingly did. But it does not appear in what year this was done; yet it must have been betwixt the year 1203, when Bricius was consecrated, and 1216, when Pope Innocent III. died. Bricius instituted a College of Canons, eight in number, at Spynie.

This choice of a Cathedral did not please Bishop Andrew Murray, immediate successor to Bricius; for, having come to the Episcopate in 1223, he next year represented to Pope Honorius that Spynie was a solitary place, far from the necessaries of life, and that Divine service was much neglected, while the Canons were obliged to travel at a distance to purchase the necessary provisions; and therefore craved that the Cathedral might be translated from Spynie to the Church of the Holy Trinity, which stood a little north-east of the town of Elgin. To induce the Pontiff the more readily to comply, the Bishop signified that it not only was the desire of the Chapter of the Diocese, but likewise of the King of Scotland, Alexander II.

The Pope cheerfully granted the request; and, by his Apostolic Bull or Mandate, dated (4to Id.)

the tenth day of April, 1224, empowered the Bishop of Caithness, with the Abbot of Kinloss and the Dean of Rosemarky, or the Bishop and any one of these, to make the desired translation if they should find it useful. In obedience to which Mandate, the said Bishop and Dean met at the Church of the Holy Trinity, near Elgin, on the 14th of the Kalends of August, *i.e.* July 19th, in the said year 1224, and finding the necessity and usefulness of the translation as represented, declared and appointed the said Church of the Holy Trinity to be the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Moray, and so to remain in all time coming.

Bishop Andrew Murray is said to have laid the foundation-stone of the Cathedral Church, on the very day in which it was declared, viz., 19th July, 1224; and as he lived 18 years after, it cannot be doubted that he greatly advanced, if not finished the building.

It does not appear what was the model or what the dimensions of the Church, as first built, though it is probable it was in the form common to Cathedral Churches, viz., the form of a passion-cross, with a spacious choir and nave.

It had stood 166 years, from the year of its foundation, when it was totally burnt* and destroyed, as follows.

* Fordun, II., 112, says that "in 1270 the Church of Elgin and the Canons' houses were burned."

In the time of Bishop Alexander Barr, Alexander Stewart, [natural] son of King Robert II., Lord Badenoch, commonly called “The Wolf of Badenoch,” seized on the Bishop’s lands of that country, and keeping violent possession of them, was excommunicated. In resentment of which, in the month of May [April], 1390, he burnt the town of Forres, with the choir of the Church [of St. Lawrence there], and the Manse of the Arch-Deacon. And in June that same year he burnt the town of Elgin, the Church of St. Giles, the Hospital of Maison-Dieu, and the Cathedral Church, with 18 houses of the Canons and Chaplains in the College of Elgin. For this wickedness the Lord Badenoch was justly prosecuted, and obliged to make due reparation. Upon his humble submission he was absolved by Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, in the Black-Friar Church in Perth; being first received at the door, and again before the High Altar, in presence of the King and many of the nobility, on condition that he should make full satisfaction to the Bishop and Church of Moray, and obtain absolution from the Pope.

Bishop Barr began the rebuilding of the Church, and every Canon contributed. Bishop Spynie continued the work; but, though every parish paid a subsidy, yet, through the troubles of the times, it made slow advances. Bishop Innes laid the foundation of the Great Steeple

in the middle of the Church, and greatly advanced it. After his death, the Chapter met May 18th, 1414, and bound themselves by a solemn oath, that whosoever should be elected Bishop, he should annually apply one-third of his revenue in repairing the Cathedral, until it should be finished. The Church being rebuilt, it remained entire for many years; but in the beginning of the 16th century, about the year 1506, the Great Steeple in the centre fell down. Next year Bishop Foreman began to rebuild it; but the work was not finished before the year 1538, and then the height of the tower, including the spire, was 198 feet. (*Hay of Drumboot.*)

The Church, when entire, was a building of Gothic architecture, inferior to few in Europe. It stood due east and west, in the form of a passion or Jerusalem cross, ornamented with five towers, whereof two parallel stood on the west end, one in the middle, and two on the east end.

Betwixt the two towers on the west end was the great porch or entrance. This gate is a concave arch, 24 feet broad in base, and 24 in height, terminating in a sharp angle.

On each side of the valves or doors, in the sweep of the arch are 8 round and 8 fluted pilasters, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, adorned with a chapter, from which arise 16 pilasters, which meet in the key of the arch.

There were porticoes or to-falls on each side of the Church, eastward from the traverse or cross, which were 18 feet broad without the walls.

To yield sufficient light to a building so large, besides the great windows in the porticoes, and a row of attic windows in the walls, each 6 feet high, above the porticoes, there was in the west gable, above the gate, a window in form of an acute-angled arch, 19 feet broad in base, and 27 in height; and in the east gable, between the turrets, a row of five parallel windows, each 2 feet broad and 10 high. Above these are five more, each 7 feet high; and over all, a circular window, near to 10 feet in diameter.

In the heart of the wall of the Church, and leading to all the upper windows, there is a channel or walk [Clerestory-gallery] round the whole building.

The grand-gate, the windows, the pillars, the projecting table, pedestals, cordons, &c., are adorned with foliage, grapes, and other carving.

Let us, after describing the body of the Church, take a view of

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE,

Commonly called "The Apprentice Aisle," a curious piece of architecture, standing on the north side of the Church, and communicating with the choir by a vaulted vestry.

The house is an exact octagon, 34 feet high,

and the diagonal breadth, within walls, 37 feet. It is arched and vaulted at the top, and the whole arched roof supported by one pillar in the centre of the house. Arched pillars from every angle terminate in the grand pillar. This pillar, 9 feet in circumference, is crusted over with 16 pilasters or small pillars, alternately round and fluted, and 24 feet high, adorned with a chapiter, from which arise 16 round pillars that spread along the roof, and join at top with the pillars (5 in number) rising from every side of the octolateral figure. There is a large window in every side of seven, and the eighth side communicates with the choir.

In the north wall of this Chapter-house there are 5 stalls, cut by way of niches, for the Bishop (or the Dean in the Bishop's absence) and the dignified clergy to sit in. The middle stall, for the Bishop or Dean, is larger and raised a step higher than the other four. They were all well lined with wainscoat.

Some of the dimensions of this Church may be seen as follows :—

	Ft.
The length on the outside, - - - - -	264
The breadth on the outside, - - - - -	35
The breadth within walls, - - - - -	28
The length of the traverse [transept] outside, - - - - -	114
The length [of transept] within walls, - - - - -	110
The height of the west tower not including spire, - - - - -	84
The height of tower in centre, including spire, - - - - -	198
The height of the eastern turrets, - - - - -	60
The breadth of the great gate, - - - - -	24
The height thereof, - - - - -	24

	Ft.
The breadth of each valve, - - - -	5
The height of each valve, near - - - -	10
The height of the side walls, - - - -	36
The height of the Chapter House, - - - -	34
The diagonal breadth within walls, - - - -	37
The breadth of every side, near - - - -	15
The circumference of the great pillar, - - - -	9
The height thereof below the chapter [or capital],	24
The breadth of the Porticoes [Aisles] on the side,	18
The breadth of the west window, - - - -	19
The height thereof, - - - -	27
The height of the east windows, - - - -	10
The height of the second row, - - - -	7
The diameter of the circular window, - - - -	10

In taking these dimensions, I have not studied a scrupulous exactness; and in some of them it was not possible to do so. The spires of the two west towers are fallen, but the stone work is pretty entire. No part of the Great Tower in the middle now stands. The two eastern turrets, being winding stair-cases, and vaulted at top, are entire.

The walls of the Choir are pretty entire, and so is the whole Chapter-House; but the walls of the Nave and Traverse are mostly fallen.

It is a mistake that this stately edifice was either burnt or demolished by the mob at the Reformation. The following Act of Privy Council shows the contrary, viz. :—“ Edinburgh, 14th February, 1567-8. Seeing provision must be made for entertaining the men of war (soldiers) whose service cannot be spared, until the rebellious and disobedient subjects be reduced; Therefore appoint that the lead be taken from the

Cathedral Churches in Aberdeen and Elgin, and sold for sustentation of the said men of war. And command and charge the Earl of Huntly, Sheriff of Aberdeen, and his deputes, Alexander Dunbar of Cumnock, Knight Sheriff of Elgin and Forres, and his deputes, William, Bishop of Aberdeen, Patrick, Bishop of Moray, &c., That they defend and assist Alexander Clerk and William Birnie and their servants, in taking down and selling the said lead, &c. Signed R.M." (*Keith's Hist.*).

The lead was accordingly taken off these churches, and shipped at Aberdeen for Holland; but soon after the ship left the river it sunk, which was owing, as many thought, to the superstition of the Roman Catholic captain. Be this as it may, the Cathedral of Moray, being uncovered, was suffered to decay as a piece of Romish vanity, too expensive to be kept in repair.

Some painted rooms in the Towers and Choir remained so entire about the year 1640 that Roman Catholics repaired to them there to say their prayers. (*Rec. Presbytery of Elgin.*)

The Great Tower in the middle of the Church, being uncovered, the wooden work gradually decayed, and the foundation failing, the tower fell, anno 1711, on a Peace [Pasch or Easter] Sunday, in the morning. Several children were playing and idle people walking within the area of the Church, and immediately as they removed

to breakfast, the tower fell down, and no one was hurt.

[Elgin Cathedral was “the lantern of the north.” Bishop Bur, in his touching letters (given in Latin in the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviense*) on the destruction thereof by “the Wolfe of Badenoch,” characterizes the fane to the King as “the ornament of the district, the glory of the kingdom, and the praise and admiration of foreigners.” At a period when the country was rude and uncultivated, when the dwellings of the mass of the people were mere temporary huts, and even the Castles of the chiefs and nobles possessed no architectural beauty, and were devoid of taste and ornament, the solemn grandeur of such a pile, and the sacred purposes with which it was associated, must have inspired an awe and a reverence of which we can form but a faint conception. The prevailing impulse of the religion of the period led its zealous followers to concentrate their whole energies in the erection of such magnificent structures ; and while there was little skill or industry manifested in the common arts of life, and no associations for promoting the temporal comforts of the people, the grand conceptions displayed in the architecture of the Middle-ages, the taste and persevering industry, and the amount of wealth and labour bestowed on these sacred edifices, find no parallel in modern times.

The Cathedral was founded under the auspices of Bishop Andrew Moray, a scion of the great and powerful family of De Moravia, who possessed the greater part of the district, and whose wealth and influence must have been very considerable, even in that rude period. We cannot, however, suppose that this Cathedral owed all its excellence of design or execution to native talent. The general resemblance of the plan manifested in the greater proportion of similar structures of the period point out a common source from which all derived their origin. Architecture and practical masonry were then the fashionable professions, and Companies or Incorporations of Free Masons, furnished with Papal Bulls and ample privileges, then traversed Europe. Ecclesiastics, too, from the highest to the lowest, were also trained as proficients in the trade. Gundulph, a monk of Bec Abbey, afterwards

Bishop of Rochester, we are told, was a celebrated practical architect. Bishop Lucy, A.D. 1202, first introduced "the high-pointed arch," and Bishop Lucy of Lincoln was so enthusiastic in the building of its Cathedral that he not only planned and superintended the work but actually carried stones and mortar on his shoulders for the use of the masons. (*Matthew Paris, anno 1195.*)

It is not improbable that Bishop Andrew of Moray was equally knowing regarding the mysteries of the craft; and attached to a Charter of this same founder of the Cathedral among other names, both local and foreign, are the signatures of Master Gregory, the mason, and Richard, the glazier, who doubtless were employed on the work.

The original structure was founded in 1224, and probably completed during the 18 years in which Bishop Andrew occupied the See. After standing 160 years, it was burnt in 1390 by "the Wolfe of Badenoch." Soon after, Bishop Bur began to rebuild it, and from the year 1414 the work was sedulously pursued till its completion. In 1506 the great or central steeple fell, and was rebuilt soon afterwards. Whether in the conflagration of 1390 the entire structure was demolished has not been distinctly recorded. It is probable, however, that a portion of the walls may have remained, and this conjecture is strengthened by the fact that different styles of architecture in the existing ruins point out different periods. Neither have we any means of ascertaining whether the original plan of the Cathedral was preserved in its subsequent restorations, or a new model adopted.

The general style of the architecture would lead us to suppose that the original plan had, on the whole, been adhered to; for it is of that kind which characterized the Cathedrals of the 12th and 13th centuries. At that period a change was in progress from the Saxon style, where plain circular arches and broad buttresses marked the buildings, to the Norman style, where the arch was pointed, the pillars and buttresses of a lighter form, and the tracery and ornaments more profuse. Yet there was often in the buildings of this period a mixture of the Saxon and Norman styles, such as is found in the Cathedral at Elgin. In several parts of this building the circular arch is visible, and grouped windows, with pointed arches, surmounted by a circular arch above.

On the whole, it is highly probable that, on the burning of the Cathedral, a considerable portion of the walls remained ; that these were restored, and the dilapidated parts rebuilt from the same foundations ; and that any alterations on the original structure consisted more in the additional ornaments and slight architectural changes of subordinate parts, than in a total change of form. Its subsequent restoration was not likely to have been eclipsed by its pristine splendour.

When entire, this magnificent temple must have afforded a splendid spectacle. A vast dome extending from the western entrance to the High Altar (not a chip of which remains), a length of 289 feet—with its richly-ornamented arches crossing and re-crossing each other, to lean for support on the double rows of stately, massive pillars—the mellowed light streaming in at the gorgeous stained-glass windows above, and flickering below amid the deep and dark shades of the pointed aisles, while the tapers of the lit-up Altar twinkled through the rolling clouds of incense; the paintings and figures of angels and saints ; the solemn tones of the High Mass ; the rich modulated music of the choir ; and the gorgeous vestments (chasubles, dalmatics, copes, and mitres), each, in time and place, in keeping with the various acts of the worship of God, as is described in the *Apocalypse* to be done in the Church triumphant. Every adjunct must have elevated the imagination and impressed with deep awe and veneration a people in a remote region and in a semi-barbarous age, with nothing around them in the slightest degree to compare with such overpowering splendour. No wonder that the clergy and the laity were proud of such a pile. It was a fit scene for Volusenus, a Latin author of the period, writing on “the Tranquillity of the Soul,” to select for his “Temple of Peace,” and under its walls to lay the scene of his philosophical dialogues.” *

* Florence Wilson (known by the Latin name of Florentius Volusenus) was born on the banks of the Lossie, near Elgin, about 1500. He was educated at Elgin, Aberdeen, and Paris. Mackenzie, in his *Lives of Scottish Writers*, III., 29-34, supposes “the Temple” to describe the old Cathedral of Elgin as it appeared in glory in the author’s youth. Gough, in his *Additions to Camden’s Britannia*, III., 249, with greater probability, perhaps, conjectures that it was at the Lady Hill that Volusenus

Entering the west door by a flight of steps, the Nave of the Cathedral appears. On either side a row of 10 pillars rose to support the roof; the foundations alone and a few of the pedestals mark their situation.

Within the Nave are the remains of a sarcophagus, said to have contained the body of King Duncan, who was killed by Macbeth at Bothgowan, in the parish of Duffus or Alves, previous to its being interred at Iona in 1046.

Macbeth was a hereditary Chief or Maormar of the Province of Moray. His character has been unwarrantably traduced, chiefly by the great Shakspere, who copies from Hollinshead. There of course is exciting romance in the play of *Macbeth*, but the murder of old King Duncan, we believe to be fictitious. Both were grandsons of Malcolm II., King of Scotland. They contended each for the throne, and met in contest in battle in the plains of Moray. King Duncan was mortally wounded by Macbeth, who reigned for 18 years.

The effigy of Bishop John Innes was found at the north-west pillar of the great central Tower, which he began to rebuild, and where he was buried.

The Aisle of the South Transept was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, where, in recesses, are two knights in armour, *circa* 1481—the burial-place of the Inneses of Invermarkie.

The North Transept was dedicated to S. Thomas à Becket, and has an Aisle for the burial-place of the Dunbars.

The South Aisle adjoining the Chancel was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and is the burying-place of the Dukes of Gordon.

On the north is the entrance to the Chapter House, through an arched apartment called the Sacristy, where the vessels used at the Altars were kept, beyond which is a Lavatory or oblong stone trough in which the celebrants washed their hands before going to say Mass, as also the Altar-linens; and where, in later years, General Anderson found his cradle.

placed his Temple. Dr. James Taylor wrote a *Memoir of Florence Wilson*, in a reprint of *De Tranquillitate Animi*, which was printed at Elgin in 1861, and presented to the Elgin Literary and Scientific Association. (ED.)

During last century the Cathedral ruins and environs were shamefully cared for, having no enclosure. Here was a convenient quarry for all and sundry to find a handy supply of building materials, the finest carvings being consolidated with new dwelling-houses, dykes, barns, and byres. Until 1807 here was the public receptacle for deposits and a free coup, when Provost Joseph King of Newmill enclosed the Chan'ry with a stone wall, and appointed a regular keeper and attendant.

In 1816, Isaac Forsyth (who enlisted the co-operative zeal of Adam Longmore, of the Exchequer) received repeated grants of money from the Barons of the Exchequer to render safe and repair the dilapidations. Since 1820, "Government" has looked after the whole hypothec, and has not been stingy in gathering up the fragments that remain, that nothing may be lost.

In 1824, John Shanks, shoemaker, then about 58 years of age, was appointed Cicerone. He wore a Kilmarnock cowl or night-cap and knee-breeks. Not another in the whole "Province" could have proved more eligible ; but our "Souter Johnny" was charged, even at a hoary age, with tampering with sportive recumbent figures lying under the stones, who had not yet "shuffled off this mortal coil." The Epitaph on his headstone, composed by Lord Cockburn, embalms his marvellous industry.

No peals of music now reverberate through these roofless aisles. Not a sound of adoration is to be heard, but the scene is silent as the surrounding graves. Yet even the grey walls are discoloured and mutilated ; though the hoary moss has gathered over many an inscription, and the sharp touches of the chisel are gone for ever ; and although there be a melancholy pleasure associated with the evidences of decay—still can we in imagination revert to the days when there was only the one Church and the one faith, and when the simple-minded faithful gloried in these alone, as they paid their homage to the one God.] (ED.)

In the night of the 4th Dec., 1637, arose "ane horrible high wind," which blew down the rafters of Elgin Cathedral, left without the slates 80 years before. (Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, II. 114.)

"On Monday, Dec. 28, 1640, by the order of the General Assembly, Gilbert Ross, minister of Elgin, accom-

panied with the young laird of Innes, the laird of Brodie, and some others, without authority, brake down the timber partition wall dividing the Kirk of Elgin frae the Quire [i.e., the Rood Screen] whilk had stood over since the Reformation, near seven score years or above. On the west side was painted in excellent colours, illuminated with stars of bright gold, the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ. This piece was so excellently done that the colours never faded, but kept hail and sound as at the beginning, notwithstanding this College or Chancery-kirk wanted the roof since the Reformation, and no hail windows therein to save the same from storm, snow, sleet, or wet, whilk myself saw. And marvellous to consider, on the other side of this wall, towards the east, was drawn the Day of Judgment; but all is thrown to the ground. It wassaid their minister caused to bring home to hishouse the timber thereof to burn the same for serving his kitchen and other uses ; but each night the fire went out wherein it was burnt, and could not be kept in to kindle the morning fire as use is, whereat the servant marvelled, and thereupon the minister left off and forbore to bring in or burn any more of that timber in his house. This was remarked and spoke through Elgin, and creditably reported to myself." (Spalding's *History of the Troubles in Scotland*, anno 1640, p. 280.)

Between 1650 and 1660, Oliver Cromwell's troops mutilated the carvings and figures of saints, angels, &c., particularly the embellishments of the superb west window called "the Alpha window," which now corresponds with "the Omega window," at the east end.

The College of Elgin was an appendage of the Cathedral, and properly falleth to be next described. A College is an incorporated Society, having particular rules or canons for their government. If the College was not annexed to the Cathedral Church, but to an ordinary Church, it was called a Collegiate Church, and the head or ruler of the College was called Provost, or Dean;

but in a Cathedral with a College, the Bishop was the ruler. These Colleges were instituted for performing Divine Service, and singing Masses for the souls of their founders, or their friends. They consisted of Canons or Prebendaries, who had their stalls for orderly singing the Canonical hours, and were commonly erected out of Parish Churches, or out of the Chaplainries belonging to Churches.

Canons, or Canons Secular (so called to distinguish them from the Regulars in Convents) were Ministers or Parsons within the Diocese, chosen by the Bishop, to be members of this Chapter or Council, lived within the College, performed Divine Service in the Cathedral, and sung in the choir, according to rules or canons made by the Chapter. They were called Prebendaries, because each had a Prebendum or portion of land allotted him for his service. Canons and Prebendaries differed chiefly in this, That the Canon had his canonica or portion, merely for his being received, although he did not serve in the Church; but the Prebendary had his Prebendum, only when he served.

The College of Canons annexed to this Cathedral, was first instituted by Bishop Brictius in Spynie, when the Cathedral was there. He instituted eight Canonries, *i.e.*, eight Parishes, whose Ministers or Parsons should be Canons or members of the College. Let me here observe,

1st, That Bishop Bricius had nominated the five Dignitaries, viz., The Dean, Chancellor, Archdeacon, Chantor, Treasurer, and assigned and fixed their seats.

2ndly, That each Dignitary, being a Canon, and to reside in the College, had a vicarage or a parish annexed to his seat, in which he employed a Vicar, and had the tithes to himself, to add to his more sumptuous living. Thus Nairn was annexed to Aldern, &c.

3rdly, That the seat of the Chancellor was afterwards changed and fixed at Inveravon. For therves, Lythenes, Lunyn, and Duldavie, first assigned to the Chancellor, I incline to think were, Fernes in Ardcloch, Lethin, Tullidivie in Edinkylie, in all which places there were Chapels or Churches, and Lunyn, *i.e.* Lundichtie, now called Dunlichtie. This I think the more probable, because the Church and Parish of Ardcloch is but a late erection, not mentioned in any ancient writing that I have seen; and Fernes and Lethin were the places of worship there. Likewise Logyn Fythenach (*i.e.* the woody Logie, so called to distinguish it from Logyn Dyke which was not woody), annexed to the Archdeaconry was, Logie, where Mr. Tulloch of Tanachie had his seat, and where there are vestiges of a Church. While that Church stood, there was no Church at Edinkylie, except Duldavie or Tullidivie. And when the wood in Edinkylie

was destroyed, land cultivated, and a Church and parish erected, depending on the Archdeacon, then Logyn Fythenach was annexed to Forres.

Bishop Andrew Moray translated, with the Cathedral, the College of Canons to Elgin; and to the former eight, added fourteen more, making in all twenty-two, which number they never exceeded. To every Canon he gave a toft of land for building a manse upon it, and a croft; and to each of the Dignitaries he gave four acres of land, and two acres to each other Canon. (*MS. Catalogue of the Bishops, pen. Mr. King of Newmiln.*) I find, in some writings, the following twenty-two Canons, viz., The Ministers of Aldern, Forres, Alves, Inveravon, Kenedar, Dallas, Raffort, Kingusie, Duthel, Advie, Aberlaur, Dyle, Botarie, Inverkethnie, Kinmore, Pettie, Duffus, Spynie, Rynie, Moy, Croy, and the Vicar of Elgin. All these had manses and gardens within the precinct of the College, and several of them had crofts of land near to it, as yet called the Deans Crook, Dyle Croft, Moy Croft, &c. Every Canonry had a Vicarage annexed to it, for the better subsistence of the Canon, who had the great tithes of both parishes, and generally was Patron of the annexed Vicarage. Thus, Aldern had annexed to it, Nairn; Forres, Edinkylie; Alves, Langbryde; Inneravon, Urquhart; Kenedar, Essil; Dyle, Rathven; Kinnore, Dunbenen, Rynie, Essie; Botarie, Elchies; Advie, Cromdale;

Kingusie, Insh; Duthel, Rothemurchus; Pettie, Bracklie; Croy, Moy in Strathern; Moy, Dyke; Raffart, Ardelach; Aberlaure, Skirdustan. I find not that Duffus, Spynie, or Elgin had any Vicarage:

[The remaining Canonries were endowed with the following Prebends:—

1. The Churches and Parishes of Spynie and Kintrae.
2. The Churches and Parishes of Ruthven and Dipple.
3. The Church and Parish of Rhynie.
4. The Churches and Parishes of Dunbennan and Kinnore.
5. The Church and Parish of Inverkeithing.
6. The Churches and Parishes of Elches and Botarie.
7. The Parsonage-tithes of the Parish of Moy.
8. The Churches and Parishes of Cromdale and Advie.
9. The Churches and Parishes of Kingussie and Insh.
10. The Churches and Parishes of Croy and Dunlichtie.

This Prebendary was the Bishop's Vicar.

11. The Vicarage of St. Giles', Elgin, with 100 shillings, of the Altarage of the same.

12. The Parsonage-teinds of the Parishes of Pettie and Brachlie.

13. The Parsonage-tithes of the Parishes of Boharm and Aberlour.

14. The Church and Parish of Duffus.
15. The Church and Parish of Duthel.
16. The Chapelry of the B. Virgin in the Castle of Duffus, erected into the Prebend of Unthank, 1542.

Of these, the Chancellor, Treasurer, Archdeacon, the Canon of Duppole, the Sub-dean, Succentor, and Canon of Duffus, were bound to provide Priests as their Vicars to serve in the Cathedral. The Canons of Petty, Inverkeithing, Kingusy, Botarie, and Aberlour, provided Deacons.

The Canons of Spyny, Ryny, Moy, Duthel, and Cromdale, *Sub-deacons*. The revenues of these Benefices it is not now easy to ascertain. The Rental printed in *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviense*, which must have served for levying the Bishop's rents, is perhaps the best authority that can now be referred to. It must be remembered,

however, that, long before its date, large portions of the Church lands had been alienated to feuars; and although all the conveyances made for that purpose, as well as the leases for lives, or for a term of years, bear to be for an augmentation of the former rental, there is reason to believe that that Rental was often merely nominal, and the clause devised to elude the danger of challenge by a successor in the Benefice.

The Bishop's Mensal Churches were Elgin, St. Andrews, Dyke, Ugstoun, Rothemaye, Keyth, Grantully, Dalbateg-lanch or Wardlaw, Rothemurcus, Davit, Tallaracie, Inner-allian.

The Dean and Chapter declare that William Winchester, Treasurer, and his successor, shall have the charge of the clock of the Cathedral, and regulate and repair it, and see that the hours by day and by night are divided and annunciated with effect.

5th Dec., 1488.

1489. About the mode of ringing of the greater bells prescribed by the Chapter, on the accustomed High Mass, at the obsequies of the nobility and others who are privileged to be buried below the Church.] (ED.)

The Precinct of the College was walled round with a strong stone wall, about 4 yards high and 900 yards in circuit, a great part of which remains yet entire. It had four gates. The east gate, called the Water Gate, or the Pan's Port, appears to have had an iron gate, a portcullis, and a porter's lodge; and probably the other gates, now fallen, had the like fences. Within this precinct stood the houses of all the Canons, and likewise the Cathedral, and a spacious Churchyard, enclosed with a stone wall, and a paved street round it, leading to the several gates. Without the Precinct westward towards the town of Elgin (which was not then built so far to the east, as now it is, Vide page 66), there was a small burgh

depending on the Bishop and the College. On July 3rd, 1402, Alexander MacDonald, third son of the Lord of the Isles, entered the College of Elgin, and wholly spoiled and plundered it, and burnt a great part of the town. For this he was excommunicated, but was after absolved, and he offered a sum of gold, and so did his captains, according to their ability; all which was applied for erecting a cross and a bell, in that part of the Chanonry which is next to the Bridge of Elgin (*Mr. King's MS.*). Probably that cross stood, where now stands the Little Cross; and the Bridge, which was no doubt of wood, stood near to the land now called Burgh Bridge lands.

Having described the Cathedral and College, I shall next give some account of

THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT SPYNIE.

The proud Prelate, vieing with temporal princes, must have his habitation called, not a house, but a palace. It is probable that, as in Mortlich, so in Moray, the revenues were at first inconsiderable, and such as did not admit of grand and sumptuous palaces. Although Bishop Bricius informs us, that his predecessors resided at Birnie, Spynie, or Kenedar, as they fancied, and that he got the Cathedral fixed at Spynie; and though in Bishop Andrew Moray's time, the Cathedral was translated to Elgin anno 1224, we have no account of a house or palace before

Bishop Archibald, who built a house at Kenedar about the year 1280. The vestiges are visible, and some part of the walls remain. It was a large double house, pretty near the Church, which likewise was spacious, and in the form of a cross. The distance of 4 miles from the Cathedral, and from the market at Elgin, the coldness of the situation so near the sea, and the total want of fuel, would induce them to build in a more convenient place. They could not have chosen a more commodious situation and pleasant, than where the Palace of Spynie stands. It is situated on a rising ground, upon the south bank of the Loch of Spynie, in a pure air, a dry and warm soil, commanding the view of the loch, and of the fertile plains of Kenedar and Duffus to the north and north-west, and of the plains of Innes and the winding of the River Lossie to the east and south-east, within a mile of the Cathedral, in view of and but two miles from the sea.

This palace, when it stood entire, was incomparably the most stately and magnificent I have seen in any Diocese in Scotland. The area of the building was near a square of 60 yards. In the south-west corner stood a strong tower, called "Davy's Tower" 20 yards long, 13 broad, and about 20 high. It consisted of vaulted rooms in the ground story, and above these, four apartments of rooms of state and bed rooms, with vaulted closets or cabinets in the wall, which is

9 feet thick, with a broad and easy stair winding to the top. The whole tower is vaulted at top, over which is a cape house, with a battlement round it. This tower was built by Bishop David Stewart, who died anno 1475. Having some debates with the Earl of Huntly, he laid him under ecclesiastic censure, which provoked the Gordons so much, that they threatened to pull the Bishop out of his pigeon holes, meaning the old little rooms. The Bishop is said to have replied, That he should soon build a house, out of which the Earl and his Clan should not be able to pull him.

In the other three corners, stood small towers with narrow rooms. In the south side of the area, betwixt the towers, there was a spacious Tennis-Court, and parallel to it on the inside was a Chapel. The east side betwixt the turrets, was planted with stables and other offices; and the north and west sides were filled up with bed rooms, cellars, and store rooms. The gate or entry, was in the middle of the east wall, secured by an iron gate or portcullis. Over the gate stand the arms of Bishop John Innes, who was consecrated anno 1406, viz., "Three stars and the initial letters of his name." This affords a conjecture, but no certainty, that he was the first who built any part of that court. In the south wall of Davy's Tower, are placed the arms of Bishops David and Andrew Stewart, and Patrick

Hepburn. The precinct round this palace was well fenced with a high and strong stone wall ; and within it were gardens, plots of grass, and pleasant green walks. A palace so large and stately required a good rent to uphold it, which leads me to speak of

REVENUES OF THIS BISHOPRIC.

It is probable that, for some time after the erection, the revenues were small. I find not any donations of King David I. or Malcolm IV. to this Church ; but King William was a liberal benefactor, for besides a small toft or plot of ground in many burghs he gave “ Decimam meam de redditibus meis de Moravia, et de placitis meis per totum Episcopatum Moraviensem.”* And because the people were backward to pay their teinds, it is added, “ Firmiter præcipio Balivis meis de Moravia, ut ipsi, sine disturbance, faciant Ricardo Episcopo, et suis successoribus, singulis annis, plenarie, et integre habere prædictam decimam de redditibus meis.”† (*Cart. Morav.*). Several of our Kings and great men afterwards granted lands, forests, fishings, &c., to this Church, and the revenues of it became

* *Translation.*—My tithe of my returns from Moray, and of my pleas throughout the whole Bishopric of Moray.

† *Translation.*—I strictly ordain my Bailiffs of Moray that they, without disturbance, shall yearly make good the full and entire said tenth of my returns to Bishop Richard and his successors.

very rich. I cannot pretend to ascertain all the Church lands within this Diocese, or the lands that belonged to it in Ross, Strathnaver, &c. The Rental of the Sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres, as it was made up, and set down, and subscribed by the Commissioners at Forres, the 30th May, 1667, was £65,603 2s. 11d. Scots money, shows that the Church had lands in almost all the parishes within the Diocese, besides some parishes as Birnie, Kenedar, Ogston, St. Andrews, Laggan, that wholly belonged to it. The said Rental is only the annuity or feu-duty now paid out of these lands, of which the Bishop was formerly the proprietor, and received the whole real rent. But these rich revenues were so dilapidated and sold, particularly by Bishop Patrick Hepburn, that, in the year 1563, when an account of all Ecclesiastic Benefices was taken, the rent of the Bishopric of Moray, as then given up and recorded in the Book of Assumption, was as under:—

Money, £1,649 7s. 7d. ; wheat, 10 bolls ; barley, 77 chalders 6 bolls 3 firlots 2 pecks ; oats, 2 chalders 8 bolls ; salmon, 8 lasts ; poultry, 223.

The lands, which in 1563 paid this rent, no doubt pay at this time more than £3,000 sterling. Besides, it was found and complained of at that time that full rents were not given up, and scarce one half of the lands of this Diocese remained unsold. To the rental ought likewise to be added the revenue arising from the Regality of Spynie,

and from the Commissariots of Moray and Inverness, which, before the Reformation, was very considerable. To show the converted prices of victual and other commodities, about the year 1563, I add the following, in Scots money :—

Wheat per boll, £2; bear per boll, £1 13s. 4d.; meal per boll, £1 13s. 4d.; malt per boll, £2; oats per boll, 10s.; mutton, No. 1, 9s.; goose, No. 1, 1s.; capons per doz., 12s.; poultry per doz., 4s.; cheese per stone, 6s. 8d.; a pork, £1; a kid, 1s.; salmon per barrel, £4.

This view, though imperfect, of the revenues of the Diocese of Moray, shows that the Bishops might live as little princes. And, indeed, in imitation of the princes of this world, as they had their thrones and palaces, so likewise their ministers and officers of state.

DIGNIFIED CLERGY.

The Dignatories, or Dignified Clergy, who were honoured with a higher station than the inferior clergy, were the following five :—

The *Dean*, Decanus, who anciently presided over ten Canons. In the Bishop's absence he presided in the Chapter, in Synods, &c. The minister of Aldearn was Dean of Moray.

The *Arch-Deacon* (with us the Minister of Forres) was *Alter Episcopi Oculus*; visited the Diocese, examined candidates for Orders, gave collation, &c., and was the Bishop's Vicar.

The *Chantor*, or *Precentor* (the Minister of Alves), regulated the music, and, when present, presided in the choir.

The *Chancellor* (the Minister of Inveravon) was the Judge of the Bishop's Court, the Secretary of the Chapter, and Keeper of their Seal.

The *Treasurer* (the Minister of Kinneddar) had the charge of the treasure or common revenues of the Diocese.

All these had rich livings, and deputies to officiate for them; and, with some Canons, constituted the Bishop's Privy Council, or

Chapter Capitulum, or Little Head of the Diocese, the Bishop being the Head. Bishops of old had their clergy residing with them to assist them in their work; and after parishes were erected, a Dean, with some Canons or Prebendaries, made the Chapter or Council. They advised and assisted the Bishop, signed with him all public acts and deeds, and in a vacancy elected, for Bishop, whom the King recommended by his *Congé de Elire*. The Chapter consisted of the Bishop, the Dignified Clergy, and Canons or Prebendaries chosen by the Bishop; and, in the Bishop's absence, the Dean presided.*

* All the knowledge which can be got of the Constitution of the Cathedral is derived from *Regist. Episc. Morav.*

The Chapter consisted of the 8 Canons first founded by Bishop Bricius, with 2 more added by him or by Bishop Andrew Moray, his immediate successor, and 13 new Canons, whose Prebends were conferred by said Bishop Andrew Moray, to which, long after, was added one Prebend by the last Roman Catholic Bishop, Patrick Hepburn.

The Bishop had no pre-eminence in the Chapter as Prebendary of the lands of Ferness, Lethen, Dunlichty and Tullydivie.

The Dean (*Decanus*) because he formerly presided over 10

Prebendaries or Canons was Chairman, head or chief of the Chapter. He had for his Prebend the Church and Parish of Auldearn.*

The Sub-Dean was the Deputy of the Dean. He had the Altarage, i.e., the offerings and dues of the Altar of the Church at Auldearn, with the Chaplainry of Nairn, and the Church and Parish of Dallas.

The Chancellor was the Bishop's Lawyer, Secretary of the Chapter, and Keeper of their Seal. He had the Churches and Parishes of St. Peter of Strathaven and Urquhart, beyond Inverness.

The Treasurer, who had charge of the common revenues of the See, was Prebendary of the Churches and Parishes of Kinneddar and Essil.

The Chanter or Precentor controlled the music. He had for Prebend the Churches of Lhanbride and Alves.

The Sub-Chanter or Succentor had the Churches and Parishes of Rafford and Ferness. (ED.)

CHAPTER OF THE CATHEDRAL.

(*Registrum Episcopatus Moraviense.*)

1534.

Alexander Bishop, commendator of Scone and Inchaffray.
Alexander Dunbar, Dean and pronotary—occurs till
1541.

Kentigern Monypennie, prebendary of Spynie.
John Thorntoun, prebendary of Adweye—1546.
John Lockart, prebendary of Innerkethny—1557.
William Paterson, Sub-Dean—1572.

Patrick Dunbar, Sub-Chantor.

Alexander Sutherland, prebendary of Duffus, prior—
1547.

Gavin Lesly, prebendary of Kyngusy—1547.
John Innes, prebendary of Elgyne—1546.

1539.

Patrick, Bishop and commendator of Scone.
Archibald Dunbar, Arch-Dean (Arch-Deacon ?)—1540.
David Dunbar, Sub-Chantor—1547.
Thomas Hay, prebendary of Spynie—1554.

* The Arch-Deacon is confounded by Cosmo Innes, Robert Young, and others, by coining an office and title which never existed—viz., “Arch-Dean”! The Arch-Deacon was the Bishop’s Vicar. He was endowed with the Churches and Parishes of Forres and Logie. (ED.)

Alexander Hepburne, prebendary of Ryne—1547.
 Thomas Gaderar, prebendary of Talarisy—1554.
 John Thornton, precentor—1562.
 John Burt, prebendary of Moy—1545.
 James Strathauchin, prebendary of Botary, ob: a. 1566.

1541.

James Hepburne, Thesaurar—1554.
 William Gordoun, Chancellor—1543.
 John Ogilvy, prebendary of Pettyn.
 Andrew Froster, prebendary of Kynnoir.
 Thomas Wallace, prebendary of Unthank—1556.

1545.

Sir William Sutherland, prebendary of Moye—1572.
 Robert Sutherland, prebendary of Duffus, second—1547.

1547.

James Gordon, Chancellor, pronotary—1557.
 Alexander Hepburne, prebendary of Elgyne.
 John Lesly, prebendary of Ryne—1557 (titular—Thos.
 Sutherland, usufructuary).

1552.

Patrick Hepburne, prebendary of Duffus—1557.

1554.

William Hepburne, prebendary of Duppill—1557.

1556.

Alexander Dunbar, Sub-Chanter—1562.
 Thomas Sutherland, prebendary of Ryne—1557.
 David Dunbar, Dean—1562.

1557.

Alexander Campbell, Dean—1562.

1560.

Alexander Dunbar, Dean—1572.
 Adam Hepburne, prebendary of Duppill—1567.
 Hew Cragy, prebendary of Inverkethny—1572.
 John Gibsoun, prebendary of Unthank—1571.
 John Thornetoun, elder, titular of the chantorie.
 John Thornetoun, younger, prebendary of Adweye and
 Cromdale—1567.

James Gordoun, prebendary of Rynie (son of the Earl of Huntly).

George Hepburne, prebendary of Kingusy.

Thomas Hay, prebendary of Spyne—1556.

James Strathauchin, prebendary of Botarie.

1562.

Michael Walker, Canon of Dunkeld, Arch-Dean (Arch-Deacon ?)

William Hepburn, prebendary of Duffus.

Archibald Lyndesay, prebendary of Kyngusy—1567.

Robert Crystie, prebendary of Elgyne.

Patrick Hepburne, prebendary of Kynnoir—1566.

William Gordoun, prebendary of Petty—1569.

1566.

James Thorntoun, precentor—1572.

William Strathauchin, prebendary of Botarie—1567.

George Hepburne, prebendary of Elgin (and thesaurar).

Robert Gordoun, Chancellor—1571.

Gavin Dunbar, Dean—1572.

John Keyth, prebendary of Duffus—1572.

Adam Hepburne, Chancellor.

1567.

Alexander Ogilvy, prebendary of Duchall.

Leonard —, prebendary of Aberlour.

Patrick Liddale, prebendary of Croy and Moye.

William Douglas, prebendary of Elgin—1571.

INFERIOR CLERGY.

The Inferior Clergy were—Parsons, Vicars, Ministers of Mensal Churches and Common Churches, and Chaplains.

Parsons were they who, *in propria persona*, had the right to the tithes, and were the ministers and rectors of parishes. What parishes were parsonages within this Diocese I cannot precisely determine, nor is it of importance to know.

Vicars supplied the place of the Rector, after Dioceses were divided into parishes. To augment the revenues of the Bishop and dignified clergy, Parish Churches were annexed to the Churches in which these served, and they were the rectors or parsons of such annexed Churches—*e.g.*, the minister of Aldearn, as Dean, had Nairn and Calder annexed to his parish; he was parson of these Churches, had a right to the tithes, and he sent vicars to serve the Cure, to whom he allowed what portion of the tithes he thought fit as a stipend, and hence they were called *Stipendiarii*. At first vicars were employed only during pleasure, and were called “Simple Vicars.” But the avarice of the parson made the Cure to be much neglected in this way—wherefore vicars were afterwards settled for life, and called “Perpetual Vicars.” They generally had the small, or mixt and personal tithes allowed them. The parsons who had vicarages depending on them claimed the patronage of them, and hence it is that after the Reformation the patron of the parsonage acted as patron of the vicarage.

Mensal Churches were such as were *de mensa Episcopi* for furnishing the Bishop’s table. He was parson and titular, and employed a vicar or *stipendiary* to serve the cure. Such Churches were St. Andrews, Ogston, and Laggan, besides mensal tithes that the Bishop had in other parishes. The Bishop was patron of all Mensal

Churches, and planted them *jure proprio et absoluto*. [In his own proper and absolute right.]

[In a Charter executed by Andrew, Bishop of Moray, in 1239, he gave to the Canons in common the pertinents of seven Churches, reserving one davoch or ploughgate "for the Episcopal table."] (ED.)

Common Churches were so called because the tithes of them were the common good, or for the public and common exigencies of the Diocese. The Bishop and Chapter were patrons, and concurred in planting them. We see that Fernua, Laggan, Kincardine in Strathspey, Abernethy, Altyre, Calder, and Arndilly, probably were Common Churches, and so was Daviot. Though the tithes of these Churches were appointed for the public charges of the Diocese, yet it cannot be doubted that the Bishop and Chapter shared in them. This benefit at least they had, that they themselves laid out no part of their benefices in the common affairs of the Diocese.

Chaplains were those clergy who officiated in Chapels, and these Chapels were of different kinds. In parishes of great extent Chapels of Ease were erected in distant corners for the convenience of the aged and infirm, and the rector of the parish maintained a curate there to read prayers and sing Masses. Vestiges of such Chapels are to be seen in many parishes.

Some Chapels were called Free Chapels, which

were not dependent on any parish, but had proper endowments for their own ministers, whose charge was called a "Chaplainry," and the minister a "Parochial Chaplain." Such, I think, was the Chapel of Unthank in Duffus, of Langmorn (*Lhan-Morgan*) in Elgin, Dallas in Calder parish. Generally such Chapels as had Churches, church-yards, and glebes, were, I think, either Chapels of Ease or Free Chapels.

Besides these there were Domestic Chapels, or Oratories, built near the residence of great men, in which the domestic chaplain or priest officiated. Such Chapels were at Calder, Kilravock, Boharm, &c. And almost in every parish there were private Chapels, one or more, built by private persons, that Masses might be said or sung there for their own souls, and that of the souls of their friends. Some small salary was mortified for that end, and usually granted to the priest of the parish. In the College of Elgin I find the private Chapels of St. John, St. Thomas, St. Culen, and the Holy Cross.

The office of saying Mass in such Chapels was called Chantry, or Chanting Masses. The salary for the priest's officiating, or saying Mass at an Altar, was called Altarage. The service performed for the dead, how soon they expired, was the Obit, and the register of the dead was called Obituary. In the first antiphon of the office of Obit are the words *Dirige nos Domine*; and hence

came the Dirge. These, and the like, were shifts to increase the revenue of the clergy.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DIOCESE.

Let us now take a view of the government of the Diocese, both clergy and laity. The Bishop was properly the only prince, governor, and ruler in whom alone the power of jurisdiction was lodged; and for his convenience he had officers and courts—Ecclesiastic, Civil, and Criminal. Of these Courts, The *Chapter* was the principal one, in which, or rather in the Bishop, the legislative power was lodged. The Bishop, with the advice of the Chapter, made laws, canons, and regulations for the Diocese; erected, annexed, or disjoined parishes; purchased, sold, or set in lease or tack Church lands and tithes, &c.

Diocesan Synods were sometimes called at the Bishop's pleasure. In these the Bishop presided when present, and in his absence the Dean. Cases of discipline and appeals from Deaneries were cognosced in these synodical meetings, and from them the Protestant Church took the plan of Provincial Synods.

The Diocese was divided into Deaneries. It appears that these Deaneries were only four, viz., of Elgin, of Inverness, of Strathbogie, and of Strathspey. These seem to have been in some respects what Presbyteries are now, and to have

been the model on which Presbyteries have been formed.

The Consistorial Court, to which the Commissariot succeeded, was held in the Bishop's name by his official. This Court judged in all matters of tithes, marriages, divorces, widows, orphans, minors, testaments, mortifications, &c. I shall give an instance or two of the frauds that were countenanced in these Courts. The one is that persons within the seventh degree of consanguinity, or fourth of affinity, might not marry without a dispensation. But by a dispensation a man might marry the two sisters, or a woman the two brothers. It is incredible what money these dispensations, whether Papal or Episcopal, brought in! No less shameful was it that if one died intestate all his moveable goods were given to the Bishop, *per aversionem*, and his wife, children, and relations, yea, and creditors were excluded! The pretence for this vile practice was that such effects ought to be laid out for promoting the good of the soul of the deceased. In this Diocese there were two Consistorial Courts, one at Elgin, the other at Inverness, which brought a rich branch of revenues to the Bishop.

The Courts of Regality likewise added to the Bishop's revenue. In 1452 King James II. erected the village of Spynie in a free barony, and all the Church lands of the Diocese into one regality.

The Bishop, as Lord of the Regality, had his bailiffs and deputies in Aberdeen, Banff, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland counties, for in all these he had lands. In a word, such was the power and riches of the clergy that Bishops, Abbots, and Priors made fifty-three votes in Parliament, and in all public impositions paid one half of the taxation.

The Arms of the See of Moray were—the image of a Saint bearing a cross, and standing in the porch of a Church.

SECTION IV.—THE PROTESTANT CHURCH.

The Reformation was established by Parliament anno 1560. From that time, as the Regular Clergy were suppressed, so the Secular had no legal establishment, though much connived at by the Royal house of Stewart. The Protestant religion was gradually propagated, and the number of its ministers being at first very small, some years must have passed before the northern counties could be planted. I shall not here treat of the doctrine and worship of the reformed Church in this kingdom, any further than briefly to consider the changes that happened, as Presbytery or Prelacy alternately prevailed in the government of the Church. And let me glance at

1st, The several Periods since the Reformation.

I. PERIOD.

The first period reaches from anno 1560 to 1572, during which Presbytery was the government of the Church. It is true, the few Protestant ministers at the Reformation were distributed among the royal burghs, and made it more their concern, to establish and propagate the pure doctrines of religion, than to determine and fix any one model or form of Church government. And until the government should be deliberately settled, a few superintendents were appointed. But these could, in no propriety, be called Bishops, such as were under Popery, or in some after periods of the Reformation; for they had no Episcopal consecration; they were solemnly set apart to their office by mere Presbyters; they neither claimed, nor exercised a sole power of ordination or jurisdiction; they never pretended to be an order superior to Presbyters; they were accountable to, and censured by the General Assembly; and, what shews they were but a temporary expedient, there were but five named, of which number, when one died, there was no successor to him appointed. And when Presbyteries were erected, the superintendent's office ceased.

Where there were no superintendents, commissioners were appointed; and Mr. Robert Pont, a senator of the College of Justice, was named Commissioner of Moray, anno 1570. But I know not if he acted as such.

General Assemblies began to be kept in 1560, and were continued annually. But how soon Provincial Assemblies were kept, I find not. It could not have been early, for want of ministers to make such a meeting in some Provinces ; and yet the Assembly 1568 appointed, “That the members of Assembly should be elected at the meetings of Synod,” which makes it probable, that Synods were generally erected at that time. The oldest register of a Synod in Moray, of which I can find any account, began in 1606. How long before that time they had Synods, I know not.

There were no Presbyteries, such as they are now, within this period. But there were meetings for exercise very early ; and the Assembly, 1579, expressly says, “That the exercise may be accounted a Presbytery.”

As to Congregational Sessions, they were held from the beginning of the Reformation, and exercised government and discipline. It is no marvel, if, in this infant state of the Church, the government was not fully established ; yet the constitution of it was plainly Presbyterian, and inconsistent with Prelacy.

II. PERIOD.

The second period runneth from anno 1572 to 1592, during which a sort of Episcopacy obtained in the Church. During the regency of the Earl

of Moray, no alteration in the ecclesiastical government was attempted. But how soon the Earl of Morton (a man of insatiable avarice) became Regent, he brought about a change. The Popish Bishops, who were allowed two-thirds of their revenues during life, were generally dead. Morton obtained a grant of the temporalities of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews; other noblemen procured, or hoped to procure, the like grants. But they could not enjoy these revenues directly, with any colour in law; wherefore Morton got it agreed, in a meeting of some ambitious men of the clergy, and a committee of the Privy Council, "That the name and office of Archbishop and Bishop should be continued during the King's minority, but subject to the Assembly as to their spiritual jurisdiction." These Bishops, introduced anno 1572, were, by way of ridicule, but justly called, "*Tulchan Bishops*." A *Tulchan* was the skin of a dead calf stretched on a frame of wood and laid under a cow to make her give milk. And these Bishops had the name that, by a private agreement, and allowing them a small benefice, the Dioceses might yield their milk or revenues to the noblemen.

This Regent further gratified his avarice at the expense of the clergy. In the year 1561, a part of the thirds of ecclesiastic benefices was allowed to the Protestant Clergy for their subsistence; but this came to be very ill paid. Morton got

the clergy to resign the thirds in his favour, and he promised duly to pay their stipendiary allowance. But he assigned three or four Churches to one minister, with the stipend of only one Church, and applied the rest to his own uses.

These *Tulchan* or nominal Bishops, had possession of the Episcopal palaces; had their Chapters, and both consistorial and regality jurisdictions. But they were in no proper sense Bishops; they were admitted or consecrated by Presbyters, and were subjected to, and deposed by the Assemblies. The government of the Church was really Presbyterian, by General Assemblies, and Provincial Synods. And in 1581, the Assembly declared the office of Bishop, as then exercised within the realm, to have no foundation or warrant in the Word of God; and Presbyteries were erected throughout the kingdom, whereof there were three in Moray, viz., the Presbyteries of Elgin, of Forres, and of Inverness. Notwithstanding this, the titular Bishops continued till the year 1592.

III. PERIOD.

The third period from anno 1592 to 1610, was strictly Presbyterian. The *Tulchan* Bishops having titles of honour, a seat in Parliament, with revenues or stipends somewhat greater than other ministers, had neglected their spiritual employments, were despised by the gentry, and

considered as profane by the populace. Yet King James VI. would gladly have continued them, as a set of men slavishly devoted to him, and to whom they owed their promotion. The King himself, by his partial favour to Papists, and his shameful conduct in the affair of Moray's murder, had sunk greatly in his character, and the chancellor (Seaton) was become odious, as to him was imputed the King's conduct. For these reasons the King favoured the clergy, and established the Presbyterian government in the most ample manner, by an Act of Parliament anno 1592.

A new division was now made of the Church, into Synods and Presbyteries: and in Moray four Presbyteries were appointed, viz., Inverness, Forres, Elgin, and Ruthven. By this last, I think, is meant the Presbytery of Strathbogie, which might be appointed to meet at Ruthven or Cairnie.

The Church did not long enjoy the peaceable exercise of this government. The King wanted much to have Bishops restored to their full power, as some sort of a balance to the nobles in Parliament; but they were become so odious, that he was afraid to revive the order. Yet, by flattery, promises or threats, he got a majority of the clergy to agree, anno 1597 and 1598, that some ministers should represent the Church in Parliament. After that he obtained to have constant

moderators in Presbyteries. And upon his accession to the throne of England, desirous to establish a hierarchy in Scotland, he, by an Act of Parliament, 9th July, 1606, restored the temporalities of Bishops, and granted them a seat in Parliament. In consequence of this Act, those whom the King named, acted as Bishops; but it was not before the year 1610, that a packed General Assembly allowed the office of Bishop. I say, "a packed General Assembly;" for Sir James Balfour, in his *MS. Annals*, vol. I. relates, "That, in the General Assembly held at Linlithgow, anno 1606, the Earl of Dunbar distributed, among the most needy and clamorous of the ministers, 40,000 merks, to facilitate the work, and obtain their suffrages. And, anno 1610, after the Assembly was up, the Earl of Dunbar paid £5000 Scots to the moderators of Presbyteries for bygone service." Thus, by bribing, banishing, intimidating, and imprisoning ministers, the Presbyterian government of the Church was overturned.

IV. PERIOD.

The fourth period, from anno 1610 to 1638. The General Assembly at Glasgow, anno 1610, having enacted that Episcopacy shall be the government of the Church, Spottiswood, Lamb, and Hamilton, ministers, were brought up to London to be consecrated. They objected, that

this might be constructed a subjecting the Church of Scotland to that of England. No, replied the King; for the Archbishops shall have no hand in it. A poor reason, yet it satisfied them. Then Bishop Andrews moved, That they should be first ordained Presbyters, because they had no Episcopal Ordination. Although such re-ordination would be a declaring all their former ministrations null, yet, so forward were they to obtain the dignity of Bishops, that they made no objection. But the Archbishop of Canterbury answered, That there was no necessity, because ordination by Presbyters is lawful, where Bishops cannot be had; else it might be doubted, if there was a lawful mission in most of the Reformed Churches. Upon this they were consecrated by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath; and upon their return to Scotland, they consecrated others. Here let me observe, That according to the Laudean and Dodwelian zealots, these Bishops were made *per Saltum*, and so their ministrations were null. Be this as it may, the civil sanction was given, anno 1612, to this change of government. But the new Bishops were characterised in the following verses:—

Vina amat Andreas, cum vino Glasgua amores,
Ross cœtus, ludos Galva, Brichæus opes.
Aulum Orcas, ollam Moravus, parit Insula fraudes,
Dumblanus tricas, nomen Aberdonius.
Fata Caledonius fraterni ruminat agri,
Rarus adis Parochos, O Cantanæe, tuos.

Solus in Argadiis Presul meritissimus oris,
Vera Ministerii symbola solus habes.*

During the life of King James VI. the subordination of judicatories was regularly kept up, and the Bishops, afraid of General Assemblies, kept within some bounds of moderation and decency. But how soon King Charles mounted the throne, Synods and Presbyteries were continued, but Assemblies were quite laid aside. Then the young Bishops, having no check or control, became proud, ambitious, and idle, encouraged tyranny in the State, and innovations (both in doctrine and worship) in the Church. King James, having in vain tried to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland, dropt the design. But his son, governed by fiery zealots, would rather set the three kingdoms in a flame, than fail in bringing the Church of Scotland into a full conformity with that of England. The Bishops became so hateful, that all ranks concurred in throwing them out; and the King finding it necessary to call a General Assembly, anno 1638, that meeting condemned Episcopacy,

* “The Bishop of St. Andrews was fond of wine ; Glasgow of wine and amours ; Ross delighted in company ; Galloway in diversions ; and Brechin in riches ; Orkney haunted the court ; and Moray the kitchen ; the Bishop of the Isles contrived frauds ; Dunblane loved trifles ; and Aberdeen a name ; Dunkeld coveted his neighbour’s land ; Caithness was seldom with his flock.—The Bishop of Argyle was the only worthy clergyman, and had alone the true symbols of the ministerial office.”

deposed six of the Bishops, and both deposed and excommunicated the other eight.

With respect to the Province of Moray, I find no alteration in this period, but what was the consequence of the change of government from Presbytery to Prelacy, except that two new Presbyteries, viz. Aberlaure and Abernethie, were erected.

V. PERIOD.

The fifth period, from anno 1638 to 1662. The General Assembly 1638 having condemned Episcopacy, at least in this Church, and having revived the exercise of Presbyterian Government in its full vigour, the bad circumstances of the King's affairs, and not his own inclination, made him, in Parliament 1641, ratify this change. Then the clergy discovered how difficult it was for them, when vested with power, to behave with moderation. What they loudly complained of under the foregoing period they themselves now violently run into. They complained that the King and Bishops would impose upon the Church of Scotland the Liturgy of the Church of England or worse; and now, by the Solemn League and Covenant, they would impose the government and worship of the Church of Scotland upon the Churches of England and Ireland. During this period, General Assemblies were annually kept, till anno 1653. When the As-

sembly was constituted on July 16th that year, a troop of horse and some companies of foot surrounded the house, and Colonel Lilburn entered with a file of musketeers, and bid them be-gone, which they obeyed. From this time, till anno 1690, there was not a meeting of the General Assembly.

The division of the clergy into Resolutioners and Protestors proved fatal to them. Their Commissioners, particularly Mr. James Sharp, whom they employed at London to take care of the interest of the Church, treacherously betrayed them; and King Charles II., who was no more to be trusted than his father or grandfather had been, wrote, by Mr. Sharp, to Mr. Robert Douglas the letter following:—

“ Whitehall, August 10th, 1660

“ CHARLES REX, Trusty and well-beloved: We graciously accepted your Address, and we are well satisfied with your carriages, and with the generality of the ministers of Scotland, in this time of trial. We by this assure you that we resolve to discountenance profanity, and all contemners of Gospel ordinances, and to protect and preserve the Government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation. This you shall make known to all Presbyteries in the Church.”

This letter was Mr. Sharp's contrivance; and the Jesuitical equivocation in the words, “As settled by law,” was unworthy of a Prince; for next year, by the Act Rescissory, all was rescinded and annulled, that had been transacted in Parliament since the year 1633; and so the

government settled by law was Episcopacy, as practised before 1633.

VI. PERIOD.

The sixth period, from anno 1662 to 1690. The government of the Church by Bishops was now restored, not by the Church or the State, the clergy or laity, but by the King's Prerogative Royal, and was ratified in Parliament anno 1662. The four gentlemen now consecrated Bishops at London were first ordained Deacons and Presbyters—a tacit confession that former Bishops were properly no Bishops. No General Assembly was called during this period, but Synods and Presbyteries were allowed to meet; yet not by these Presbyterian names, for now they were called “Diocesan Assemblies and Exercises.” A Popish King and a profane ministry warmly resented the severities under the late Usurpation; and the new Bishops, formerly Presbyterians and Covenanters, would tolerate no man that would not thoroughly conform to both Church and State.

This brought on a persecution that lasted during this period. In the year 1663, about 400 ministers were ejected out of their parishes and livings because they would not swear to despotism in the State and prelacy in the Church. Such as curiously enquired into the number of sufferers for non-conformity to Church and State during

this period have calculated that by hanging, drowning, tumults, intercommuning, imprisoning, and banishing, at least 18,000 were cut off. In England the persecution for non-conformity was, for a time, very hot. But when James laid aside the mask, and showed his design of introducing Popery, the Bishops and Doctors made a faithful and firm stand for the Protestant Religion, and heartily joined in maintaining it.

But in Scotland the Bishops became abject flatterers of that Popish King, and seemed to wish for Popery and slavery; for when they heard of the Prince of Orange's expedition for preserving religion and liberty in Britain, they wrote a letter to their King, dated November 3rd, 1688, in which they did not once mention the Protestant religion, but prayed, "That God would give him the necks of his enemies, and clothe with shame all who should invade his rights, and that Heaven might preserve his son, to sway the royal sceptre after him." This letter was signed by all the Bishops except Argyle and Caithness.

Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, and King James's abdicating the throne and flying to France, the people in the west, who had been rendered mad by oppression and persecution, became unruly, and violently drove away many of the Episcopal ministers, who had been too much the authors of their sufferings. And upon

the 11th April, 1689, the Convention of Estates (consisting of 2 Dukes, 2 Marquisses, 28 Earls, 6 Viscounts, 21 Lords, and 50 Commissioners of Counties and Burghs, and some Bishops) declared Prelacy “a great and insupportable grievance to the nation, and that it ought to be abolished.” This declaration was carried by so great a majority that there were only eleven against it, whereof seven were Bishops.

In this period there was nothing peculiar to the Province of Moray, but what shall be taken notice of in some general remarks, after I have spoken a little concerning

VII. PERIOD.

The seventh period, which runneth from the year 1690 to the present time. In the year 1690 the Presbyterian Government was restored and established by Parliament, and that year the General Assembly met, after it had been discontinued ever since the year 1652. The Episcopal ministers now conformed generally to the Civil Government, and were indulged to keep their Churches and benefices during life. By this means, the number of Presbyterian ministers in the Diocese of Moray was so small that they made but one Presbytery called “The Presbytery of Moray,” till the year 1702. Before this year they had no meeting of Synod; but in March, 1702, the Commission of the Assembly recom-

mended to them to meet in Synod. In pursuance of which, in a meeting at Forres, 23rd June, 1702, they erected themselves into three Presbyteries, viz., the united Presbytery of Inverness and Forres; the united Presbytery of Elgin, Aberlaure, and Abernethie; and the Presbytery of Strathboggie. In October the same year they met in Synod for the first time. The number of ministers soon increasing, by the demise of the Episcopal Incumbents, Aberlaure and Abernethie were disjoined from Elgin anno 1707, and made a distinct Presbytery. In 1708, Inverness and Forres became two Presbyteries; and in 1709 Aberlaure and Abernethie were disjoined and made two Presbyteries. In 1706, the Assembly annexed Mortlich to the Synod of Moray; and in the year 1724, the Assembly having erected a new Synod, called "The Synod of Glenelg," the parishes of Laggan, Bolesken, and Urquhart were disjoined from the Synod of Moray, and included in that new Synod. I shall now close this Section with a few remarks.

Upon perusing the ecclesiastical records, it is apparent that true, rational, Christian knowledge, which was almost quite lost under Popery, made very slow progress after the Reformation. It was long before ministers could be had to plant the several corners, and particularly the Highlands. In the year 1650, the country of Lochaber was totally desolate, and no Protestant

ministers had before that time been planted there. And when the number of ministers increased, very few of them understood the Irish language, and teachers were settled in the Highlands, who were mere barbarians to the people. Through want of schools, few had any literary education, and they who had would not dedicate themselves to the ministry when the livings were so poor as not to afford bread.

Hence ignorance prevailed in every corner. To which, besides the want of public teachers, many things contributed. The number of Papists was great. They who professed the Protestant religion retained strong prejudices in favour of the religion of their ancestors. Popish profaneness and irreligion, too grateful to flesh and blood, could not soon be abolished. So little was the Lord's Day regarded that in the town of Elgin, in the year 1591, their annual fairs were held on that day; and many years after the shops were open on that day for buying and selling.

The unsettled state of the nation increased this ignorance. During the reign of King James VI. tumults, insurrections, violence, murder, and bloodshed filled the land. The civil wars, in the reign of his son, turned Church and State into the utmost confusion; and under the reign of the two Royal brothers, the high ambition was to root out the northern heresy, and to re-establish Popery in our land.

The changes in the doctrines and government of the Church likewise nourished ignorance and vice. Our Reformers taught the Calvinistic doctrine, and settled Presbyterian government. But King James VI. overturned that government, and sought to abolish that doctrine. His son made further advances in these changes. Arminianism became the favourite scheme of doctrine, and Episcopacy, absolutely necessary to salvation, the plan of government. During the Usurpation, enthusiasm and anarchy prevailed ; and with the Restoration, deism and a general dissolution of manners, like a flood, came in—the transition from one extreme to another being easy and common.

The reign of Charles II. is well described by Mr. Pope in the following lines :—

In the fat age of pleasure, wealth, and ease,
Sprung the rank weed, and thriv'd with large increase ;
When love was all an easy monarch's care,
Seldom at Council, never in a war.
Tilts ruled the State, and Statesmen farces writ,
Nay wits had pensions, and young lords had wit ;
The fair sat panting at a courtier's play,
And not a mask went unimproved away ;
The modest fan was lifted up no more,
And virgins smiled at what they blush'd before.

The conduct of the clergy had a bad influence. When the Presbyterians ruled, they exercised too little prudence, charity, or discretion ; and when the Bishops governed, they encouraged persecution and bloodshed. These having no superiors (no General Assemblies to restrain

them) but the King, whose creatures they were, became proud and insolent, little regarded any concerns of the Church, except their own power and revenues, and quite neglected the means of diffusing and propagating the knowledge of religion and virtue; in so much that there were scarce any schools of learning in this Province, except in royal burghs, till after the Revolution. I well remember when, from Speymouth (through Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber) to Lorn, there was but one School, viz. at Ruthven, in Badenoch; and it was much to find in a parish three persons that could read or write.

Such prevailing ignorance was attended with much superstition and credulity. Heathenish and Romish customs were much practised. Pilgrimages to wells and chapels were frequent. Apparitions were everywhere talked of and believed. Particular families were said to be haunted by certain demons, the good or bad geniuses of these families; such as: On Speyside the family of Rothiemurchus, by *Bodach an Dun*, i.e., "The ghost of the Dune." The Baron of Kincardine's family by *Red Hand*, or "A ghost, one of whose hands was blood-red." Gartinbeg by *Bodach-Gartin*. Glenlochie, by *Brownie*. Tullochgorum by *Maag Moulach*, i.e., "One with the left hand all over hairy." I find in the Synod Records of Moray frequent orders

to the Presbyteries of Aberlaure and Abernethie, to inquire into the truth of *Maag Moulach's* appearing; but they could make no discovery, only that one or two men declared they once saw, in the evening, a young girl whose left hand was all hairy, and who instantly disappeared.

Almost every large common was said to have a circle of fairies belonging to it. Separate hillocks upon plains, were called *Sigh an*, i.e. "fairy hills." Scarce a shepherd but had seen apparitions and ghosts. Charms, casting nativities, curing diseases by enchantments, fortune telling, were commonly practised, and firmly believed. As Dr. Garth well describes the goddess Fortune,

In this still labyrinth around her lye,
Spells, philters, globes, and schemes of palmistry ;
A sigil, in this hand, the gipsy bears,
In t'other a prophetic sieve and shears.

Witches were said to hold their nocturnal meetings in churches, churchyards, or in lonely places; and to be often transformed into hares, mares, cats; to ride through the regions of the air, and to travel into distant countries; to inflict diseases, raise storms and tempests: and for such incredible feats, many were tried, tortured, and burnt. If any one was afflicted with hysterics, hypochondria, rheumatisms, or the like acute diseases, it was called witchcraft: and it was sufficient to suspect a woman for witchcraft if she was poor, old, ignorant, and ugly. These

effects of ignorance were so frequent within my memory, that I have often seen all persons above twelve years of age solemnly sworn four times in the year, that they would practise no witchcraft, charms, spells, &c.

It was likewise believed that ghosts, or departed souls, often returned to this world, to warn their friends of approaching danger, to discover murders, to find lost goods, &c. That children dying unbaptized (called Tarans) wandered in woods and solitudes, lamenting their hard fate, and were often seen. It cannot be doubted, that many of these stories concerning apparitions, tarans, &c., came out of the cloisters of Monks and Friars, or were the invention of designing Priests, who deluded the world with their stories of *Purgatory* and *Limbus Infantum*. But after the Revolution, the most distant corners being planted with ministers, schools erected in almost every parish, charity schools set up for instructing the poor; Christian knowledge propagated, and natural philosophy much improved; ignorance was gradually removed, and superstition lost credit. Apparitions, fairies, witches, tarans, have disappeared; and few regard the stories concerning them, except stupid old people who cannot shake off their prejudices, and bigoted Papists who give implicit faith to their Priests.

It appears all along since the Reformation,

that the clergy either looked on Church government as alterable or ambulatory, or made little account of the difference betwixt Presbytery and Episcopacy, notwithstanding their wrangling about the *Jus Divinum*. The zealous Prelatists, before 1638, fully complied with Presbytery and the Covenant: and the bigoted Covenanters as readily complied with Prelacy in 1662. And if, at the Revolution, few conformed to Presbytery, it was because they were allowed their benefices for life, upon qualifying to the civil government, and their not conforming to the ecclesiastic government eased them of considerable expenses, in attending upon judicatories, paying *Centesimas*, &c.

One cannot but observe, that the clergy of both denominations are too ambitious of power, and ready to abuse it into severity and persecution. In time of Presbytery, after the year 1638, ministers who would not subscribe the Covenant, or who conversed with the Marquis of Huntly, or the Marquis of Montrose, or who took a protection from them, were suspended, deprived, or deposed. And gentlemen, who took part with Huntly or Montrose, were tossed from one judicatory to another, made to undergo a mock penance in sackcloth, and to swear to the Covenant. Under Prelacy, on the other hand, after the Restoration, the Presbyterians, and all who opposed Court measures, had no enemies more

virulent than the clergy. They informed against them, made the Court raise a cruel persecution, and made insidious and sanguinary laws for fining, imprisoning, intercommuning, hanging, &c. It is never better with religion than when the clergy are entrusted with little power, and have no share in the civil administrations.

Under both Presbytery and Prelacy, they brought the high censure of excommunication into contempt, by the frequency of it, and applying it to improper objects. Ladies of quality were excommunicated, purely because they were Papists or Quakers, though otherwise regular and moral. And yet such time-servers were they, that the most zealous against Popery before the Restoration, after it, became cold and faint, knowing the disposition of the Court.

In the year 1600, by Act of Parliament, all persons were required to partake of the Sacrament of the Supper once in the year, under these penalties: an Earl, £1,000; a Lord, 1,000 merks; a Baron, 300 merks; a yeoman, £40; a Burgess, as the Council shall modify. I am not surprised that such an Act was made by that King, especially as it was made upon pretence of obliging Papists (a strange way of converting them) to become Protestants. But it is shameful to find the clergy zealous in executing this profane law, and prostituting an ordinance so sacred. Yet this they did, both under Prelacy and Presbytery.

Always, upon the establishing of Episcopacy, ministers were strictly prohibited by the Bishops, to marry any widower or widow, till the testament of the former husband or wife was confirmed: and they were required to remit quarterly to the commissioners, lists of all dying within their parishes. It was pretended that this was done for the benefit of the children and near relations: but it was, in truth, for the benefit of the Bishop. And the Parliament 1690 abolished this avaricious, cruel, Popish practice, of robbing poor widows and children; and now no one needs confirm, unless he inclines.

The moderation and lenity of the Civil government since the Revolution, compared with former reigns, is very observable. In former periods, whatever was the Church government established by law, no dissenting from it, or nonconformity to it, was connived at; far less was it tolerated. Dissenters, I mean Protestants, were oppressed and persecuted. But now Papists are connived at, Prelatists have a legal toleration in their favour; and they, who on account of their Jacobite principles, will not accept of it, are connived at, and suffered to keep their private meetings for worship. And though the Established Church is rent by Seceders, Cameronians, MacMilanites, Glassites, &c., yet no sect is disturbed or oppressed.

I shall close this Section with one remark more,

viz.:—The conduct of the Episcopal Clergy, at and since the Revolution. In June 1690, the Parliament established Presbytery as the government of the Church, and required all the Episcopal Ministers, who would remain in their charges, not only to swear the allegiance, but to subscribe the assurance, “owning King William and Queen Mary as the only lawful King and Queen of this realm, as well *de jure* as *de facto*, and promising to maintain and defend their title and government against the late King James, &c.” This they brought upon themselves, by their Jesuitical distinction of *de jure* and *de facto*. The Parliament likewise considered, that the Episcopal Clergy who qualified to the Government, and so continued in office, were more numerous than the Presbyterian Ministers, and, if admitted to a share in the government, would over-balance these: therefore the Parliament committed the Government to those ministers, now alive, who had been ejected since January, 1661, and to such as they did or should admit. Of these consisted the Assembly which met in October, 1690. Few more were yet ordained. In the north, the Episcopal Clergy generally qualified to the Government, and kept their Churches. In the Diocese of Moray upwards of forty did so.

These Episcopal Ministers, though qualified to the Government, joined the Jacobite laity, in endeavouring to restore their King and Episco-

pacy. In order to this last, it was contrived, that a body of Episcopal Ministers, more numerous than the Presbyterians, should apply to the next General Assembly, to be received into a coalition, upon such terms, as they thought, could not be refused. If received, they hoped soon to overturn Presbytery. If rejected, they would represent the Presbyterians to the King and Parliament, as of an unpeaceable, seditious, and persecuting spirit, and hoped in this way to succeed. And if Prelacy was once restored, they would work up the nation to a new Revolution. This scheme seems to have been formed by the Viscount of Tarbet (Vide Birch's *Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, 1752), a nobleman of some learning, but of less integrity, who insinuated himself into King William's favour, and yet lived and died a keen Jacobite. The Scots Bishops communicated a part of this design to the English Bishops. They, together with Lord Tarbet, prevailed with the King, who was a stranger, to defer calling an Assembly in 1691, for the sake of peace, as they pretended; but in fact that their scheme might be ripened.

All things being now ready, an Assembly was called to meet in January, 1692, and the King in his letter recommended to receive, into a share in the government, all who should desire to be thus comprehended. Then Dr. Canaries, at the head of 180 Episcopal Ministers, and in the name

of many more, appeared and desired to be received, and they would subscribe the following formula : “ I, A. B., do sincerely promise, and declare, that I will submit to the Presbyterian government of the Church, as it is now established in this kingdom, and that I will subscribe the Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms ratified by Act of Parliament in the year 1690, as containing the Doctrine of the Protestant Religion professed in this kingdom.”

The Assembly knew Dr. Canaries’ character ; they saw the design of these men was no more than what a Jesuit, or a Mahometan, might offer. These men did not promise to believe the doctrine, and not to overturn the government of the Church. In short, such equivocation was condemned, and their offer was rejected. Upon this Canaries appealed to the King for redress ; and the Earl of Lothian, Commissioner, dissolved the meeting *sine die*. But the Assembly asserted unanimously the right of the Church, and appointed the time of their next meeting.

The Jacobites now hoped to triumph, but were disappointed. Their design was seen into. The King was undeceived ; and the Parliament having met in April, 1693, ordained, “ That no one be admitted or continued a minister or preacher, till he first subscribe the allegiance and assurance : also subscribe the Confession of Faith as the confession of his faith, and own the doctrine

therein contained to be the true doctrine, to which he will constantly adhere; and likewise own Presbyterian Church government, submit thereto, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof, and observe the worship as at present performed; and that they apply in an orderly way, each man for himself, to be admitted." The Parliament likewise addressed his Majesty to call an Assembly, which he did, and they met in March, 1694, and drew up a formula, agreeable to the Act of Parliament, offering to receive all who would subscribe it.

Few complied with the Act of Parliament. Many qualified to the Civil Government, and kept their Churches without molestation. But the zealous Jacobites would not conform to Church or State. Some of them continued in their Churches by the favour of Jacobite patrons or heritors. Some intruded into vacant Churches; and some set up private meetings. The union of the two kingdoms, anno 1707, secured the legal establishment of the Church; yet an almost unlimited toleration was granted, anno 1712, to the Episcopal Clergy. But as it required them to abjure the Popish Pretender, very few took the benefit of it. They kept up their unqualified meetings, and looked for some Revolution that would dissolve the union. This was nearly effected in the end of Queen Anne's reign; and being dis-

appointed by her death, they heartily joined in the Rebellion anno 1715, and thereafter in the year 1745.

These being crushed, they seemed to despond, and published and dispersed the following elegant, but virulent, Threnodia, in the style of a monumental inscription, which exhibits a lively picture of High Church.

The Notes at the foot of the page will serve as a key to it.

¹ M. M. C. S. E. S.

Siste Viator, lege et luge,
Miraculum nequitiae.

Sub hoc marmore conduntur Reliquiae

² Matris admodum venerabilis,
(Secreto jaceat, ne admodum prostituatur !)
Quæ mortua fuit dum viva,

Et viva dum mortua.

O facinus impium et incredibile !

³ Defensore nequissime orbata,

⁴ Tyrannis miserrime oppressa,

⁵ Proceribus vicini regni Insulatis
(referens tremisco) nefarie obruta ;

⁶ Aulicis impie afflita,

⁷ Filiis nonnullis perfide deserta,

⁸ Spuriis omnibus pessime calcata, trucidata, ludibrio habita :

Sacrificium suffragiis τῶν πολλῶν,

(Ne dicam τῶν παντῶν,)

Votivum, et Phanaticorum furore !

Rogas,

Quanam in terra hoc ?

¹ Memoriæ Matris Charissimæ Scoticanæ Ecclesiæ Sacrum.

² High Church.

³ The Popish King James VII.

⁴ Kings William, George I. and George II.

⁵ The Bishops of England.

⁶ The Ministry.

⁷ The opposers of the Usages.

⁸ The Church of Scotland.

In Insula,

Ubi Monarcha contra Monarchiam,

Ecclesiastici contra Ecclesiam,

Legislatores contra Legem,

Judices contra Justitiam,

Concionatores, atheistice, contra veritatem,

Milites audaciter, impudenter,¹ Wilhelmo Neroniano Duce,

Contra honorem, contra humanitatem

Agunt.

Pudet hæc opprobria nobis !

Nam propter exsecrationem, perjurium, luget haec Terra !

In cuius testimonium multi equidem sunt testes vivi et recentiores.

Apage ! Apage !

Ægrotavit, proh dolor ! Mater charissima, beatæ memorie,

² Anno MDCLXXXVIII.

Tum manibus, tum pedibus, vœ mihi, clauda fiebat

³ Anno MDCCVII.

Tandem permultis flagellis, ærumnis, miserere mei Deus ! exhausta,

⁴ Obiit Anno MDCCXLVIII.

Vos omnes Seniores, Filii Filiæque

⁵ Orate pro ea, ut quiescat in pace, et tandem beatam obtineat
Resurrectionem. Amen.

Cum temerata fides, pietasque inulta jaceret,

Deserereturque suum Patria nostra ⁶ Patrem ;Illa Deum, patriamque suam, patriæque⁷ Parentem,

Sincera coluit religione, fide :

Tramite nam recto gradiens,⁸ Nova dogmata spernens,Servavit⁹ Fines quos posuere Patres.

TRANSLATION.

Sacred to the Memory of our Dearest Mother, the Church of Scotland.

Stop Traveller, Read and Lament,

A Miracle of Iniquity.

Under this Marble lye the Remains

Of a very venerable Mother.

(Let her lye concealed, that she may not be too much exposed !)

Who was dead while alive,

And alive while dead.

¹ The Duke of Cumberland.² At the Revolution.³ By the Act of Security.⁴ By the Act against unqualified meetings.⁵ In testimony of the doctrine of praying for the dead.⁶ King James VII.⁷ The Popish Pretender.⁸ Reformation doctrines.⁹ The unscriptural Popish usages.

O Impious and Incredible Wickedness !
 Iniquously deprived of her Defender,
 Miserably oppressed by Tyrants,
 By the mitred Clergy of the neighbouring Kingdom
 (I tremble at relating it) wickedly abused ;
 Impiously afflicted by Courtiers,
 By certain Sons treacherously deserted,
 Trampled on by all spurious, maltreated, held in derision :
 A votive Sacrifice by the Suffrages of Many,
 (I need not say of All,)
 And "likewise" by the Fury of the Fanatics.
 Do you ask,
 In what land is this ?
 In an Island,
 Where the Monarch acts against the Monarchy,
 The Churchmen against the Church,
 The Legislators against the Law,
 The Judges against Justice,
 The Preachers atheistically against the Truth,
 The Soldiery boldly, impudently, William (cruel as Nero) their General,
 Against Honour, against Humanity.
 This, an opprobrious, and shameful conduct in us.
 For this Land mourns for wickedness, perjury !
 As a proof of this we have many living and late witnesses.
 Away ! Away ! with it.
 Alas ! our dearest Mother, of happy memory, became sick,
 In the year 1688.
 Woes me, She became lame both in the hands and feet,
 In the year 1707.
 At length, have mercy on me, O God ! worn out by many strokes, griefs,
 She died in the year 1748.
 All ye Seniors, Sons and Daughters,
 Pray for her that she may rest in peace, and at length obtain
 A happy resurrection. Amen. &c.

2nd.—THE BISHOPS OF MORAY SINCE THE REFORMATION ;
 THE CATHEDRAL, PALACE, CHAPTER, AND REVENUES.

Patrick Hepburn, the last Roman Catholic Bishop of Moray, died June 20th, 1573, and

1. *George Douglas* was the first Protestant Bishop. He was bastard son of Archibald, Earl of Angus, and was admitted Bishop, 5th February, 1573-4. For in that period there was no consecration, except what was performed by mere Presbyters, yet he soon elected a Chapter; for I

find him and the Chapter consenting and subscribing to a tack of Teinds, July 18th, 1574. He died at Edinburgh, December 28th, 1589, [and was buried in Holyrood] (Keith's *Catal.*).

He was the only *Tulchan* Bishop in this See.

[He presented his licence or *Conge d'elire* for his *soisasant* consecration, 5th Feb., 1573, and took his seat in the General Assembly 6th March. In Calderwood's account of the Assembly 1574, it is stated he was a whole winter mumming upon his papers, and had not his sermon *par cœur* when all was done. He had a lease from his Majesty, 30th Sep., 1578, of the common Kirks of Dunkeld, callit Megill and Auchterhous, both personage and vicarage, for 19 years.] (Scott's *Fasti.*)

The next Bishop was,

2. *Alexander Douglas*, probably son of the former. This gentleman was ordained Minister of Elgin about the year 1582 (*Sess. Records of Elgin*), and served as a Presbyterian Minister till the year 1606. In that year, he, with others, grasped at the Erastian Prelacy established by Parliament, and in 1610, received a sort of consecration (See III. and IV. Periods). He died May 11th, 1623, [aged 62] and was buried in the Aisle of St. Giles' Church in Elgin, where his wife, a daughter of the Laird of Innes, erected a stately monument.

[*Alexander Douglas*. He was named by the General Assembly, 1606, to be constant moderator of the Presbytery of Elgin; and they were charged by the Privy Council, 17th Jan. after, to receive him as such within 24 hours after notice, under pain of rebellion. He was presented to be commendator of Bewlie, 1st Feb., 1606—

consecrated at Edinburgh, 15th March, 1611—was member of the General Assemblies 1610, 1616—and of the Courts of High Commission, 15th Feb., 1610, 21st Dec., 1615, and 15th June, 1619. Publication—Fourteen Letters and Petitions.] (Scott's *Fasti*.)

He was succeeded by

3. *John Guthrie* [Minister of Perth, and afterwards] Minister of Edinburgh, who was consecrated [between 26th Aug. and 13th Oct.] 1623, and was deposed by the General Assembly [with the whole of the Episcopal Bench], which met [11th Dec.], 1638. [Declining to obey the sentence he was excommunicated by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, prior to 11th July, 1639. He petitioned the General Assembly, 1641, that his situation might be kept for him a little time, but they refused, 28th July. He did the same twice on the 30th, both of which however met with a similar fate. On his humble petition, he was liberated by Parliament 16th Nov. following, with provisone he doe not returne to the diocie of Moray.] He did not, as other Bishops, fly into England, but kept possession of the Castle of Spynie; and when the Covenanters took arms anno 1640, he garrisoned it. But on July [16] that year, Major-General [Robert] Munro [of Fowlis] marched with 300 men to reduce it. Mr. Joseph Brodie, Minister of Keith, and son-in-law to the Bishop, prevailed with him to surrender on July 16th, and only the arms and riding-horses were carried off. He was imprisoned at Edinburgh in Sep.

this year, 1640.] The Bishop retired to his paternal inheritance of Guthrie in Angus (*Spald. MS.*). [He died at Guthrie Castle on 23rd Aug., 1649, æt. 72, and was buried in the family vault there.] From that time there was no Bishop, till after the Restoration.

[He married Nicolas Wood, and had three sons—John, Minister at Duffus—Patrick and Andrew (this last was taken prisoner at Philiphaugh, and beheaded at St. Andrews), and two daughters. Bethina succeeded to the property, and married her cousin, Guthrie of Gaigie—by whose descendants the estate is still enjoyed.]

4. *Murdac MacKenzie* was preferred [1662]. He was, for some time, chaplain to a regiment in the army of Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden; after which he was settled Minister of Contane in Ross; from thence translated to Inverness anno 1640, and thence to Elgin anno 1645. Upon the Restoration he was consecrated Bishop, May 7th, 1662. He had been accounted a superstitiously zealous Presbyterian and Covenanter, and so much an enemy to the keeping of holydays, that it is commonly said at Elgin, that at Christmas 1659, he searched the houses in that town, that they might not have a Christmas-goose. But a Bishopric cured him of these blemishes, and he soon deposed some of his clergy for nonconformity. In the end of the year 1676, he was translated to the See of Orkney, and died in February, 1688.

[*Murdo MacKenzie, D.D.*, successively Bishop of Moray

and of Orkney and Zetland, died at his Episcopal palace at Kirkwall in Feb. 1688, "being near a hundred years old, and yet enjoyed the perfect use of all his faculties until the very last." (*Keith's Scottish Bishops*, p. 228.) This, however, is evidently a mistake, as it is stated at p. 152 of the same work, that he was born in the year 1600; descended from a younger branch of the house of Gairloch in Rossshire, his direct ancestor, Alexander (apparently grandfather), having been third son of John, second Baron of Gairloch, who died in 1550, by Agnes, only daughter of James Fraser of Foyers in the same county.

The following data of this venerable Prelate's ecclesiastical career, taken from a MS. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, may prove interesting:—A.M. of King's College and University of Aberdeen, 1616; received episcopal ordination, it is said, from Bishop Maxwell of Ross. But I would place it an earlier date, probably about 1624, as that Bishop was not consecrated till 1633, and Mr. M'Kenzie is recorded to have been chaplain to a Scottish regiment under Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, during the war in Germany, which must have been between June 1630, and Nov. 16th, 1632 (the period of his death in the battle of Lutzen in Saxony).

On his return to his native land, he was made Parson of Contin, a parish in Ross-shire, the exact year I have not ascertained, but it must have been between 1633 and 1638, as he was a member of the famous Glasgow Assembly (which met on Nov. 21st, 1638, and abolished the Established Church of Scotland), appearing on the roll as one of the clerical representatives of the Presbytery of Dingwall. Translated from Contin to Inverness, in 1640, as first minister of the collegiate charge of that town and parish. Admitted to the first charge of the town and parish of Elgin April 17th, 1645, and retained that living after his elevation to the episcopate, having his residence there at the seat of the Cathedral and chapter of the diocese of Moray, his successor as Parson of Elgin not having been appointed till July, 1682. For nearly 24 years it is, therefore, evident that he conformed to Presbyterianism; and even at Christmas, 1659, he is said to have been so zealous a Covenanter and "precisian," as to have opposed the keeping of all holy days at Elgin, and

to have searched the houses in that town for any "Yule geese," as being superstitious!

On the re-establishment of Episcopacy by King Charles II., the Parson of Elgin, however, readily complied with the new order of things in Church and State; although, after all, it was only a return to the same form of Church government in which he had been originally educated and ordained. He was nominated to the Bishopric of Moray by Royal Letters Patent January 18th, 1662, and consecrated to that See on May 7th following, in the Abbey Church at Holyrood Palace, at Edinburgh (together with five other Bishops elect), by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate and metropolitan, assisted by the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of Galloway. The form used was that in the English Ordinal, and the Consecration Sermon was preached by the Rev. James Gordon, Parson of Drumblade in Aberdeenshire. Bishop M'Kenzie's signature to documents, still in existence, was, as Bishop of Moray, "Murdo. Morauien," and also "Murdo, B. of Moray." And after an Episcopate then of nearly 15 years, he was translated to the more wealthy Bishopric of Orkney and Zetland, on Feb. 14th, 1677, which he held for about 11 years, dying in the 89th year of his age, and 26th of his Episcopate.] (Major-Gen. A. S. Allan—*Notes and Queries*, No. 127, June 4th, 1864.)

5. *James Aitkins*, [son of Henry Aiken, Sheriff and Commissary of Orkney, was born in Kirkwall, and had his education at Edinburgh, from whence he went and studied at Oxford. Became chaplain to the Marquis of Hamilton, while he was Commissioner to the General Assembly in 1838. Afterwards Minister of Birsay in Orkney,] Rector of Wimphrey in the county of Bristol, [Winifirth in Dorsetshire,] was, upon the King's recommendation, elected Jan. 10th, 1677, and soon after consecrated. [Elected Nov. 1st, 1676, got his Patent 5th June, 1677, and was consecrated

at St. Andrews, 28th Oct., 1679.] He was accounted a pious man, and maintained strict order and discipline among his clergy, without any severity against Dissenters; but warmly maintained the rights of his See, particularly a fishing on the River Spey. The Marquis of Huntly, and Earls of Moray and Dunfermline, proprietors of a fishing on that river, prevailed to have him translated to Galloway anno 1680, and he died [at Edinburgh of apoplexy, 28th Oct.], 1687, æt. 74, [and was buried in the Church of the Grey Friars.] He was succeeded by

6. *Colin Falconer*, [A.M. of St. Andrews,] son of William of Dunduff, who was son of Alexander Falconer of Hawkerton, was ordained Minister of Essil [2nd Oct.] anno 1651, transported to Forres [24th March] in 1658, and in [May] 1679, elected to the See of Argyle [and consecrated 28th Oct., at St. Andrews, by the two Archbishops and others.] But not having the Irish language, he was not fond of that charge, and in [Sep.] 1680 was installed Bishop of Moray. He died [in the Castle of Spynie, the last Bishop who inhabited it], Nov. 11th, 1686, and was buried in the Aisle of St. Giles' Church in Elgin.

7. *Alexander Rose*, [D.D., of Glasgow] (of the family of Inch in Garioch, a branch of the family of Kilravock, and whose father was Prior of Monimusk) was successively Minister at Perth,

Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, and Principal of St. Mary's College in St. Andrews; and was consecrated Bishop of Moray in March 1687, and before the end of that year was translated to Edinburgh, where he died March 20th, 1720.

[He died in his own sister's house in the Canongate, in which street he also lived, and whither he had gone to visit his brother who was then sick. He was buried in the ruinous Church of Restalrig, on the Wednesday after. He was a sweet-natured man, and of a venerable aspect.] (Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*.)

[He requested his remains to be interred at Forres, where he had been minister 21 years. He married, 24th July, 1649, Lilias Rose, a daughter of Rose of Clava, who died at Elgin, 6th May, 1688, and had a son, Alexander, who entered apprentice to Andrew Home, merchant, Edinburgh, 11th Feb., 1674, and two daughters, Isobel and Jean, who married prior to 8th April, 1685.] (Scott's *Fasti*.)

8. *William Hay, D.D.* [of St. Andrews] (of the family of Park in Moray), [son of William Hay, A.M., Master of the Music School in Old Aberdeen, whom he succeeded about 1688,] was Minister at Perth, and was consecrated Bishop of Moray March 11th, 1688, at St. Andrews. After his deprivation in 1689, he retired to the house of his son-in-law, John Cuthbert of Castlehill, near Inverness, where he died March 17th, 1707.

[*William Hay*, said to be of the family of Park, was born the 17th of Feb., 1647. He had his education at Aberdeen, and received holy orders from Bishop Scougal. He was first settled minister at Kileonquhar (commonly Kinneuchar) in Fife, and was made Doctor of Divinity by Archbishop Sharp. From Kinneuchar he was removed

to the town of Perth, and was afterwards consecrated Bishop of Moray anno 1688. The royal warrant for his consecration bears date the 4th Feb., 1688 (*Secretary's Books, Mar.*). He was consecrated at St. Andrews 11th March. He suffered the common fate of his Order at the Revolution, and died at Castlehill, his son-in-law's house, near Inverness, on the 17th of March, 1707. [He went to the Waters of Bath for cure, but without avail. He married Mary, daughter of John Wemyss, Parson of Rothes, and had two daughters, Sophia and Jean, one of whom married John Cuthbert, Castlehill, Inverness.] (*Scott's Fasti.*)

He is described as a person of mild and gentle temper, who disapproved alike of the penal laws against the Papists and against the Presbyterians. In the interesting account of a journey made in the autumn of 1697, by Robert Barclay, of Ury, near Stonehaven, and three other Quakers, from Aberdeen to the North Western Highlands, as far as the residence of Cameron of Lochiel, with whose family the Barcleys were connected by marriage, it is related that one of the "Friends" visited at Inverness "the old Bishop of Moray called Hay, who was sore diseased in his body by a palsy." In the old churchyard of Inverness a monument was erected to his memory, with an inscription in elegant Latin, to the following effect:—

"Sacred to the memory of The Right Rev. Father in God, Wm. Hay, Professor of Theology, a most deserving Bishop of Moray—a Prelate of primitive holiness, great eloquence, at all times a constant maintainer of the Church and regal dignity, as well in their afflicted as in their flourishing condition. He adorned the Episcopal Mitre by his piety, and honoured the same by the integrity of his life and affable behaviour. Exhausted by study and a 20 years' palsy, a most blessed end followed his upright life. John Cuthbert, his son-in-law, erected this homely monument."]

(See *Grub and Lawson—Historians.*)

[*William Dunbar, A.M., King's College, Aberdeen, 1681.*
Born in Morayshire. Parson of Cruden, Aberdeenshire, from about 1691, being kept in possession of that parish in defiance of the Presbyterian Establishment, through

the influence of the family of Errol. Elected Bishop of Moray and Ross (united) in 1727; and consecrated at Edinburgh, June 18th following. Elected Bishop of Aberdeen at Old Meldrum, 5th June, 1733; but retained the Sees of Moray and Ross also under his jurisdiction until 1736, when he resigned, as also the Bishopric of Aberdeen, 4th July, 1745. Died in Jan. 1746, æt. 85, at Peterhead. A vacancy of several years now occurred, although the Clergy of Moray and Ross met at Elgin on the 7th July, 1737, in pursuance of Mandates issued by the Primus, and elected the Rev. George Hay, Presbyter at Daviot, who died before consecration; his confirmation by the College of Bishops having been delayed by ecclesiastical disputes then troubling the Church.

William Falconer, son of Alexander, merchant, Elgin, by his wife Jean King, daughter of William King of Newmill, Provost of Elgin, and grandson of Bishop Colin Falconer. He was Presbyter at Forres, when elected, in 1741, Bishop Coadjutor of Caithness and Orkney; consecrated at Alloa on the 10th Sep., 1741; elected by the Clergy of Moray as their Ordinary in Nov. 1742; Primus, 24th June, 1762, till resignation in Sep. 1782; elected Bishop of Edinburgh 25th Oct., 1776. Died there 15th June, 1784, æt. 76.

Arthur Petrie, son of Colin Petrie, farmer, Auchintender, parish of Forgue, by his wife a sister of Bishop Alexander of Dunkeld. He was Presbyter at Meiklefolla, when elected Bishop Coadjutor of Moray; consecrated at Dundee, 27th June, 1776; succeeded as Bishop of Moray Nov. following—also becoming Bishop of Ross and Caithness about the same time. Died at Meiklefolla, 19th April, 1787, æt. 55; buried in Dunbennan Churchyard near Huntly. (See Vol. II., page 398, and my *Scotichronicon*.)

Andrew Macfarlane, born at Edinburgh in 1743. He had 17 uncles "college bred." He was of the Clan of Gartanlaw. His mother's name was Murray. He married Mrs. Magdalene Duff, 4th daughter of William Duff of Muirtown, near Inverness, and widow of Alex. Duff of Drummuir, Botriphnie, who died at Inverness, on 22nd Nov., 1828, æt. 76. They had a large offspring. He was Presbyter at Cornyhaugh in Forgue, from 1769 till 1776; at Newmill near Keith, from 1777 till 1779; at Inverness

when elected Bishop Coadjutor of Moray and Ross, with Argyle and the Isles; consecrated at Peterhead 7th March, 1787—succeeding to the sole charge of these districts in the following month. Resigned the See of Moray early in 1798, retaining Ross, Argyle, and the Isles, as also, apparently, Caithness and the Orkneys under his jurisdiction, until he died at Inverness, on the 26th July, 1819, æt. 76. A verbose epitaph, declaring the good qualities which he possessed, is on his tombstone. He was a good Gaelic and Hebrew scholar, and was a “Hutchesonian,” as almost the whole of the Episcopal Clergy in the north then were. Bishop Jolly was by them “looked down upon” for eschewing such a rampant but now defunct heresy.

In the Inverness Town Council Minutes of June 25th, 1787, there is a

Petition of Mr. Andrew M^cFarlane.

That a piece of the Short Links called the Maggot was feued to John Fraser, and sometime after transferred to Provost Duff, who mortified with the burden of paying the feu duty thereof to the good town, &c., (1) That the feu duty was regularly paid until some time after 1746, “in which year the greatest or most valuable part of the houses upon the said Maggot was destroyed,” and after this, as your petitioner is informed, the emoluments of said Maggots were so small that some one of, or belonging to the Magistracy or Town Council signified to the then Episcopal minister, Mr. James Hay that he needed not mind the feu duty, or words to that purpose. It is probably that owing to this hint, and to the lenient dispositions of the then Magistrates and Council it was that Mr. Hay ceased paying the feu duty during the remainder of his life.” His successor, the late Mr. John Stewart, it is said, got a similar hint, so that the matter lay over again. Sometime after Mr. Stewart’s death, Mr. William Mackenzie succeeding he made no enquiry at all, but continued to raise about £3 or £4 a year as best he could. “This was no doubt wrong, as being disrespectful, although not intended.” Thus hath the matter stood, and “although your petitioner hath not hitherto been in the least benefited by the small mites of said Maggot, yet he wishes to have the subjects once disburthened.” He therefore appeals to the well known liberality of sentiments and benevolence of disposition of the present Magistracy and Town Council, &c.

The Council accept £7 8s. 2d., and grant a discharge in full of the past feu duty to Mr. Macfarlane.

The annual feu duty was £13 6s. 8d. Scots.

(1) Alexander Duff of Drummuir, by Deed of Mortification, 13th May, 1725, dispossed the Maggot Lands therein of old called the "Short Links of Inverness." Duff of Drummuir, whom failing Duff of Muirtown, whom failing the Provost, Bailies, and Town Council of Inverness are the trustees successively named in the deed to manage the subjects, and the latter are now the acting trustees. The subjects were appointed to be held for the use and behoof of "ane Episcopal minister officiating for the time being in any private or public meeting in Inverness, conform to law, who may be destitute of, and shall not have a local modified stipend, conferred on and payable to him by the heritors of the burgh and parochin of Inverness, and failing of the said Episcopal minister, &c., for behoof of the poor. This revelation of the Jacobite feelings and expectations of old Drummuir is interesting. The Maggot lands are very unproductive, being occupied by the poorest families, and from their low, ill drained position, unhealthy.

(2) Robert Jamieson was Mr. Hay's predecessor, and was acting in (at least 1715-16). In the *Culloden Papers*, p. 45, is a letter from the Rev. Robert Baillie to Culloden, 30th March, 1716, containing, "Jamieson is like to make a hand with some of our officers to be reposed to his meeting house; in which case the seeds of Jacobitism shall still be nursed among us." Mr. Jamieson must have died or removed before 4th June, 1734, on which date a "call" by the "Episcopal congregation" at Inverness, is addressed to the Reverend Mr. James Hay, minister of the gospel to the Episcopalian Congregation at Lockshills, in the Diocese of Moray, "to become their pastor. The call bears 31 signatures. In order to induce Mr. Hay to accept of this call he is assured of £30 sterling, and the rents of the Maggot.

(3) On 11th July, 1746, Mr. Hay was summoned before the Sheriff for having kept a meeting house in Inverness for years past, and that he preached or performed some part of divine service without praying in words express for His Most Excellent Majesty King George their Royal Highnesses, &c., or without first having taken the oath prescribed by law. The Fiscal prays that the said meeting house may be shut up for six months. The conclusion of the case reads like an Irish one. On 31st July, the Fiscal admits that the meeting house whereunto the defender preached and performed divine service for some years past, was entirely broken down and demolished, latter end of April last, by the king's troops under the command of the Duke when in this place, and that the very timber of this meeting house was carried away and disposed of by the

troops, as is notoriously known in town and country—therefore on that account finds it needless to insist, &c. The whole case is somewhat curious.

Alexander Bailie, the Fiscal, must have been well aware of the destruction of the Meeting House, and altogether it looks like an action to whitewash Mr. Hay of all actions before 11th July. He had then “tholed his assize.”

Alexander Jolly, D.D., Washington Episcopal College, U.S. and A.M., Marischall College, Aberdeen, was born at Stonehaven, 3rd April, 1756. His father was a grocer there. Presbyter at Turriff, 19th March, 1777; transferred to Fraserburgh in April, 1778, where he remained for half a century. Elected Bishop Coadjutor to the preceding, and consecrated at Dundee, 24th June, 1792; elected Bishop of Moray (having never officiated as a Coadjutor), 14th Feb., and collated 22nd Feb., 1798, to the sole charge of this disjoined district. Died at Fraserburgh, 29th June, 1838, æt. 82; buried in the Churchyard at Turriff.

He wrote a tract on *The Constitution of the Church*—a small treatise on *Baptismal Regeneration*, reprinted after his death by Burns, to which there is prefixed a Memoir by the Rev. Patrick Cheyne; *Sunday Services*, reprinted and Memoir prefixed by his favourite, Bishop Walker, and a similiar sized Vol. on *The Sacrifice of the Eucharist*. A Biography was published in 1879 by Rev. William Walker, Monymusk; and a few scraps since, of stale fame. An oil Painting is at Glenalmond.

Bishop Jolly had but ordinary natural gifts, excepting the gift of “goodness,” which in him was supernatural. His correspondence, much still existing, is apostolic and paternal throughout, not behind the epistles of St. Paul. He evermore bewailed the languishing condition of the Church; as he perpetually wrote, “gloomy, gloomy.” Numerous are the anecdotes connected with this justly canonized saint in the “Scotch Episcopal Communion.” A zealous member of the Chapel in Elgin was so overjoyed at viewing the Bishop arm in arm with the Rev. Hugh Buchan, on the way to give Confirmation, that he escorted the pair. A number of good folks turned out to behold the sight, at which our friend, overcome with ecstacy, addressed with demonstrative hand, thus:—“Match me that, ye shoemaker Seceder b—rs!”

He lived a recluse, in holy celibacy, above a grocer's

shop, in primitive apartments full of books; the fly-leaves of which were all carefully ruled and margined, and written upon with extracts from his favourite divines. His excellent library was left as a legacy to the Church, and for many years, was kept at 8 Hill Street, and afterwards at St. Andrew's Hall, Leith Wynd, Edinburgh. From thence it was transferred to Trinity College, Glen-almond, where a fire rendered the greater portion useless. It was the Bishop's idol, and now it is *Nehushtan*. Himself did the greater part of his household work; an attendant came in at stated times; and, after finishing jobs, locked him up. He rose early, kindled the fire, and infused congou, of which he was so fond. He gave all he had in alms-deeds. He kept his gardening implements in a nook in one of his rooms. He left few original sermons, having no confidence in his own powers. He was fond of coaxing a favourite child whom he had baptized to come in the evenings and assist in toasting the bread for his tea. He was a great favourite among the country families who were members of his Chapel, whom he assiduously visited. On the Monday morning he would have been seen, staff in hand and wig on head, (a wig which nearly convulsed the Court of George IV. at Holyrood), trudging off 5 or 10 miles on foot to make inquiries after Sunday absentees. The Shands of Craigellie had an old servant-maid, not long dead, who used, at the request of the Misses Shand, to cram the pockets of the poor Bishop's overcoat with all the bodily comforts that could be thought of. He was fond of jargonelle pears; the only fruit which did not make him bilious.

Though an ascetic and monk, the Bishop was not averse, in his juvenile days, to social enjoyments. He was fond of meeting his people at the different houses in the district; and with a little importunity would even favour them with a song, his favourite being a quaint ditty dwelling upon the delights and happiness of family life, when blessed. This, when Mr. Jolly, he used to sing in a low sweet voice, very plaintive and winning—pure from the heart of a Scotch Nathanael in whom there was no guile. Another was: “I dearly lo'e the lasses O!” Bishop Jolly had a young sweetheart, who was taken away by the fell-destroyer; and to the end of his life he bewailed his bereavement, often sighing, when conversa-

tion turned—"We have all our trials and disappointments. Love is a sweet contagion."

After dinner, when in *confab* with a couple of his clergy, upon a high occasion, such as a Confirmation, once in three years, he would mildly denounce "the Office for the Churching of Women;" complaining, and even declaring that "the pains of hell gat hold upon them," and that "all men are liars;" and, notwithstanding, they are at it again, often to my astonishment."

In his periodical visits to Edinburgh, few and far between, the thought of setting out for such journeys caused sleepless anxious nights and many prayers. From his letters, he seemed terrified at travelling alone, and at the bustle of a large town—also, at the prospect of sleeping in sheets and not in blankets. He was careful to notify this beforehand, stating:—"My life, at the best, is not worth very much, but I could not think just yet of committing *felo de se*."

David Low, LL.D., of Marischal College, Aberdeen, April, 1820, and D.D. of Trinity College, Hartford, U.S., and Geneva College, New York, son of David Low, maltster, Brechin. Presbyter at Perth till Sep., 1789, when transferred to Crail and Pittenweem, remaining in the latter small Fife Burgh for 66 years. Elected Bishop of Ross, Argyll, and the Isles, at Inverness, in Oct., 1819, and consecrated at Stirling 14th Nov. following. Became Bishop of Moray in 1838, after Bishop Jolly's death, arranged by the College of Bishops to the displeasure of the three old Clergy of the See of Moray, who stood out for their independence and were rebuked therefor. In 1847, he resigned Argyll and the Isles, which two united Sees he had endowed, after great annoyance thereanent from his Episcopal confreres. There never existed strong amity between him and the Skinners; and the biting notes in my possession which passed at this juncture raised up bygones. *E.g.*, "Bishop John Skinner stood out against the elections of Bishops Jolly and Gleig, and my own; and now his son, that great stot o' the north, gives me no end of bother, because I desire to have Bishop Ewing as my successor. Besides, I pay for the piper. He is no great thing, still we should be content even with small mercies. I really did not see what Sir William Dunbar had done to merit such a hangman's

doom ; but yet, to please my brethren, I supported the authority of the big man, and here's my thanks. Bishop Gleig was 14 years here [Pittenweem], and never married a couple the whole of that time but himself, and he used to say, — ‘Confoun’ thae Skinners, for they are all so possessed with the deevil o’ self-possession.’”* Some friend complimented Bishop Skinner’s powerful voice, when out came the cutting rejoinder:—“Him read ! he just *roars* like a stickit calf.” A southern dignitary wrote that it was worth going 20 miles to hear Bishop Low read the 10th commandment. He emphasised the *nor* rather ludicrously but originally, and wheeled about at the last *nor* with *nonchalant* disdain. It was a greater treat to behold him on tiptoes, when special gentry were in the Chapel; and to witness the rebukes at any fancied blunders during Divine Service.

On the 19th Dec., 1850, Bishop Low resigned his Diocesan authority over Moray and Ross. Died 26th Jan., 1855, æt. 88, at Pittenweem, and is buried at the south end of S. John’s Chapel, in a spot which he himself consecrated. Memoirs have been written by the Rev. William Blatch (by no means correct in some details), by M. F. Conolly (containing a collection of his anecdotes), and by R. Chambers, but the living man is wanting; imaginary pictures lack the glowing coal.

* The beginning of these sorrows was the secession of the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, caused by Bishop Terrot’s admonition in 1842, for praying to God extempore and lecturing in a hall of his own hiring ! Then followed the excommunication or anathema of the Rev. Sir William Dunbar, at the hands of Bishop Skinner, the drawing up of which was accredited to the Rev. Patrick Cheyne, who in turn shared the same fate by Bishop Suther, his compeer for the mitre, at the instigation of the Rev. Gilbert Rorison, LL.D., Peterhead, whom the defendant attended in Aberdeen jail, and got therefor this coin of gratitude. After the ejection of Sir William Dunbar followed that of the Rev. C. P. Miles, Glasgow, and of the Rev. J. D. Hull, Huntly. The last of this “advancing” business was the presentment for heresy of Bishop Forbes by his senior Presbyter, the Rev. William Henderson, Arbroath. *Playing the fool* is a game which even wise men have joined in, coming out grotesque *Flats* of smashed crockery. Such was the case in the whole of these contemptible skirmishes. (ED.)

Owing to an interior anatomical arrangement, he literally chewed the cud after dinner! The Rev. Edward Waylen, some time at Largs, informed me that a lady of his acquaintance in America was so enamoured with the travail of the Bishop, as to immortalize him in needle-work on the back of an easy chair—with mitre and crook, wading through the Highlands in a snowdrift! He was a totally different character from his predecessor. He lived penuriously, and was shabby in many of his transactions; although he scraped some £10,000, which went for the endowment of the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, Trinity College, Glenalmond, and St. John's Chapel, Pittenweem. The same worn goose-quill did duty for a life time, back and front taking office in turns and repairing itself. When a friend or foe departed this life, he judiciously wrote to the executors to be so good as give back all teethy correspondence. From 1838 till 1844 I visited and resided with the Bishop, and can, consequently, speak of his manners and customs. Being a juvenile and cheap Curate, he desired to retain me for life. I could furnish spoonfuls of rich and racy matter, of peevishness, greed, and cringe. Being a confirmed bachelor, although he *had* once a *flame*, his ebullitions at the tidings of an *arrival*, after Matrimony, from any of the wives of his clergy, were *Malthusian* in the extreme. For weeks, he determined concision too late for lively sparks to be made eunuchs of for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; while he vowed all sorts of vengeance for propagating paupers. He and Mary Forrester, his housekeeper, were wont to have terrific rows; and in order to be revenged on a victorious outburst, this bearded Abigail bought a bowl for the Bishop's toddy sugar with this inscription:—

“ Among the men what dire divisions rise!
For union one, for none another cries.
Shame on the sex that such disputes began;
Women are all for union to a man!”

Viewing this as a personal attack, the maid was ordered to take the utensil back forthwith to Charlie Stuart, a vender of such articles of vertu, with return of price.

Robert Eden, D.D., born in London, 4th Sep., 1804, third son of Sir Frederick Morton Eden, second Baronet

of Truir, County Durham; educated at St. Peter's College, Westminster, and at Christ Church, Oxford. Curate of Weston-sub-Edge, in the Diocese of Gloucester, 1828; and of Messing and Peldon, County Essex, Diocese of London; Rector of Leigh, in the same County and Diocese, from 1837 till 1853; and Rural Dean. Elected Bishop of Moray and Ross, by a majority of votes, at Elgin, 21st Jan., 1851, and consecrated at St. Paul's, York Place, Edinburgh, 9th March, following. Elected *Primus* 6th July, 1862, successor to Bishop Skinner, Aberdeen, who copulently filled the chair well.

The *Primus* m. 1827 Emma, who died 1880, dau. of the late Sir James Allan Park, a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and has issue living five sons and five daughters, viz., Frederick Morton, b. 1829 (m. 1st 1857 Louisa Anne, who d. 1868, dau. of the late Vice-Adm. Hyde Parker, C.B.; 2ndly Fanny Helen, dau. of the late Edw. P. Barrett-Leonard, Esq., and has issue living by 1st marriage two sons and a daughter, by 2nd three sons). Henley, b. 1838 (m. 1871 Amy Frances, dau. of Lord Charles Lennox Kerr, and has issue living two sons). Robert Allan, b. 1839, Chaplain to the *Primus*. William Alexander, b. 1843, Capt. R.A. Charles John, Capt. 42nd Highlanders. Lucy (m. 1849 Rev. Hubert Samuel Hawkins, Rector of Beyton, Suffolk, and has issue living three sons and three daughters). Caroline (m. 1851 Col. Arthur, a Court Fisher, who d. 1879, and has issue living three sons and three daughters; the eldest of whom, Alice Eliz., m. 1879 James Allan Park, Esq., Lieut. 42nd Highlanders, and has issue one daughter). Alice (m. 1857 Rt. Hon. Geo. Ward Hunt, M.P., who d. 1877, and has issue living five sons and five daughters. Her eldest son, George Eden, b. 1859, married 1881 Margaret Hyde, dau. of Sir Wm. Parker, Bart.). Emma Selina (m. 1861 Rev. Dacres Shiver, Rector of Wilton, Wilts, and has issue living seven sons and three daughters). Mary.

The Diocese of Caithness was added to his former jurisdiction, 6th Oct., 1864. Prior to his residence at Inverness, he resided at Duffus House, near Elgin.

By his zeal, the first "Scotch Episcopal" Cathedral has been erected, with an Altar and Ritual which would have done honour to the Middle Ages.]

These were the Reformed Bishops in the See of Moray; and in their time the Diocese, in its extent, was much the same as under Popery. I have above taken notice of the division of it into Presbyteries.

The Cathedral or College Church had gone to ruin, as above observed; and these Bishops used St. Giles' Church in the town of Elgin, as their Cathedral, the Bishop being the Parson or Rector of the Parish of Elgin, and the other minister his Vicar.

The Palace of Spynie was kept in repair, and there the Bishops resided. But at the Revolution, though the palace and precinct were annexed to the Crown, and not sold, but pays annually twelve pounds sterling of rent; yet the house not being inhabited, the Lessees or Tacksmen either carried off, or suffered others to carry off, the iron gate, the iron chain of the portcullis, the oaken joists or roof, the doors, flooring, &c. In a word, all the iron-work and timber was carried away, and only the stone walls remain.

The Dignified Clergy, and their seats, were the same as under Popery. In an Agreement, in June, 1666, betwixt the Bishop and Chapter, and Sir Ludovick Gordon of Gordonstoun, compared with tacks of teinds, with consent of the Bishop and Chapter, I find the following members of the Chapter, viz., The Minister of Aldern,

Dean ; of Forres, Archdeacon ; of Alves, Chantor ; of Inveravon, Chancellor ; of Kenedar, Treasurer ; Dallas, Sub-dean ; Rafford, Sub-chantor ; Moy, Pettie, Duffus, Dunlichty, Spynie, Kinore, Botarie, Kingusie, Birnie, Vicar of Elgin, and Prebendary of Unthank. But I know not, if these ministers were always of the Chapter, or at any time made up the whole of it.

The Consistorial Jurisdiction, by Commissaries in Elgin and in Inverness, brought a considerable revenue to the Bishop. “After the Reformation says the Author of *Essays on Brit. Antiq.*) the Bishops took a great care to preserve their right. They had spies in all corners ; and no sooner was a man laid in his grave, than they thundered out all their artillery of the law, to force his relations to apply for Letters of Administration.”

I find in the Synod Register of Moray, that how soon Prelacy was re-established at the Restoration, the Bishop, anno 1663, caused intimate from all the pulpits in the Diocese, “That no widower, man or woman, shall be married, until they report a certificate of the confirmation of the former husband or wife’s testament.” As long as Prelacy was established, this grievance was not redressed. But immediately after the Revolution (Parliament 1690, Act 26), it was enacted, “That no person shall be bound to give up inventory of a defunct’s goods ; and

that there shall be no confirmation, unless at the instance of the relict, children, nearest of kin, or creditors."

The Bishop's power and perquisites, as Lord of the extensive Regality of Spynie, were not to be dispensed with; and therefore that Jurisdiction was kept up.

With respect to the Revenues. The Papal Hierarchy having been abolished at the Reformation, what of the Church lands had not been sold and disposed by the Bishops was, by Queen Mary and her son, lavished away among their courtiers and favourites. When King James re-erected a hierarchy anno 1610, he had but very poor livings for his Bishops. And although both he and his son pressed the surrender of Church lands so warmly and imprudently that the discontent of the nobility and gentry who possessed these lands issued in a civil war fatal to Monarchy and Prelacy; yet little of the lands that had belonged to the Church was recovered. However, competent revenues were obtained for the Bishops by gentlemen paying an annual feu-duty for the Church lands they held off the Crown, and this was called "The Bishop's Rents or Feu-duties." I have not seen a full and exact account of the Church lands belonging to the Diocese of Moray, but the following Rental of the feu-duties (taken from the Collector's books) points out the gentlemen who now possess these lands, and shows

that the revenue was great, when the Bishops had the full real rent of those lands :—

RENTAL OF THE FEU-DUTIES OF THE BISHOPRIC
OF MORAY.

	Scots Money	£	s.	d.		Scots Money	£	s.	d.
Paid by Laird of Grant,	114	0	0		Brought over,	£802	2	0	
By Easter Elchies,	-	11	5	0	Laird of Brodie for Kenedar, with a sow, or				
Grant of Carron,	-	9	3	4	£8,	-	-	-	129 12 0
Grant of Bellindalach,	-	51	6	8	Spynie,	-	-	-	26 6 8
Grant of Dalvey,	-	36	0	0	Dipple,	-	-	-	24 11 4
Grant of Achoinanie,	-	7	0	0	Gordonstoun for his				
By Kilmiles,	-	40	0	0	lands,	-	-	-	228 12 0
Hugh Baillie,	-	20	0	0	Moraystoun,	-	-	-	2 16 8
Fraser of Kinreries,	-	18	0	0	Bishopmill,	-	-	-	66 13 4
Cuthbert of Drakies,	-	1	0	0	Sheriffmill,	-	-	-	2 0 0
Fraser of Fohir,	-	8	14	8	Inshbroke,	-	-	-	15 16 10
Alexander Chisholm,	-	1	0	0	Findrossie,	-	-	-	36 7 0
Laird of MacIntosh,	-	20	15	0	Essil,	-	-	-	10 12 0
Laird of Calder,	-	27	0	0	Kirkhill of St. Andrews,	-	4	9	8
Rose of Holm,	-	9	11	0	Teind Fishing of Spey,	-	200	0	0
Laird of Kilravock,	-	56	0	0	Killes,	-	-	-	71 0 0
Laird of Lethin,	-	26	8	8	Catboll in Ross,	-	-	-	16 0 0
Dallas of Cantray,	-	10	2	0	Kirktown of Dallas,	-	5	12	2
Rose of Clava,	-	10	14	4	Myreside,	-	-	-	20 0 0
Loggie Ardrie,	-	14	0	0	Lovat's Tack Duty,	-	40	0	0
Laird of Altyre,	-	24	0	0	Twyick's Tack Duty,	-	1	10	0
Alterlies,	-	-	1	6	The Precinct of Spynie,	-	150	0	0
Kempcairn,	-	-	11	8	Teind Bolts at £5—				
Achoinachie,	-	-	23	6	Pitgavenie, 32 bolls, inde,	-	160	0	0
Birkenburn,	-	-	5	6	Bareflatihills, 12 bolls 2				
Schoolmaster of Keith,	-	5	6	8	firlots,	-	-	-	62 10 0
Pitlurg,	-	-	22	6	Inch, 3 bolls,	-	-	-	15 0 0
Ogilvie of Milltown,	-	-	4	2	Linkwood, 20 bolls,	-	100	0	0
Blervie,	-	-	81	7	Maison Dieu, 8 bolls,	-	40	0	0
Moy,	-	-	1	4	Peats, at 4s. per Load—				
Drumriach,	-	-	2	0	Kenedar, 80 loads,	-	16	0	0
Phorp,	-	-	10	5	Aikenhead, 20 loads,	-	4	0	0
Inverlochtie,	-	-	52	2	Whitefield, 20 loads,	-	4	0	0
Middletoun,	-	-	18	0	Milltown, 20 loads,	-	4	0	0
Rothes Kirkton,	-	-	4	14	Inverlochtie, 50 loads,	-	10	0	0
Stankhouse in Birnie,	-	25	9	0	The 12 ploughs of Birnie,				
James Stewart's lands in Birnie,	-	-	10	19	at 10 loads per				
Hillhead there,	-	-	6	17	plough, inde	-	120		
Dykeside in Birnie,	-	13	17	8	loads,	-	-	-	24 0 0
Carry over,	-	£802	2	0	Total,	-	£2,307	9	4

This is the Revenue as it now stands in the Collector's books, but it is not one half of the revenues as they stood at the Revolution. Several

parts of these rents have been gifted to gentlemen. The profits of the Regality, and especially of the Commissariot, were very considerable. The Bishop was parson of the parish of Elgin and drew all the great teinds. The Churches of St. Andrews, Ugston, and Laggan were mensal, and the Bishop had the whole teinds. In a word, the Revenues of the See of Moray at the Revolution, by a moderate estimation, amounted to £6,000 Scots, or £500 sterling.

The Rental given up by Bishop Hay in 1689 agrees with the above, except in a few articles of small account. And Bishop Hay adds:—

“There is payable out of the Bishopric to the Minister of St. Andrews yearly the sum of (Scots money) £58 6s. 8d.”

Let me here give the articles of discharge and credit now allowed to the Collector out of the Bishop’s rents, viz.:—

To the third Minister of Inverness, by a Royal Grant,	- - - - -	£881	1	6
To the Minister of Birnie, by decreeet,	- - - - -	32	12	2
To the Ministers of Elgin, by decreeet	8 bolls barley, at £5, is	40	0	0
Deducted for Pitgavenie, 20 boll, inde	- - - - -	100	0	0
For the Precinct, 12 bolls,	- - - - -	60	0	0
To Surcharge on Lovat’s lands,	- - - - -	20	0	0
Total in Scots money,	- - - - -	£1,133	13	8
Thus the whole Rental being	- - - - -	2,307	9	4
And the discharge or credit amounting to	- - - - -	1,133	13	8
The balance paid by the Collector is	- - - - -	£1,173	15	8

3rd.—THE MINISTERS OF PARISHES SINCE THE
REFORMATION.

In this account I shall follow the present division of the Province into Presbyteries, and shall take notice of the Patron Saint, the Civil Patron, the Stipend, the Schools, the Mortifications, the Chapels, the number of examinable persons above seven years of age, and the Protestant Ministers since the Reformation.

My vouchers for these things are :—Our Ecclesiastical Histories ; the Registers of Inverness, Forres, Elgin, and Strathbogie ; Registers of Kirk-Sessions ; Original Writs, particularly those belonging to Campbell of Calder.

In speaking of the Patrons of Churches I cannot but observe that by the Act, 10mo *Anno* or 1712, restoring patronages, “The Patronage of Churches, which belonged to Arch-Bishops, Bishops, or other dignified persons in the year 1689, shall belong to the Crown.” And since no prescription can run against the Crown, I leave it to those concerned to consider how far the Crown has a right to severals in this Province.

PRESBYTERY OF STRATHBOGIE.

There are within the Province of Moray but two parishes of this Presbytery, viz., Mortlich and Bellie. Before the year 1706 Mortlich was in the Diocese of Aberdeen.

*Mortlich,** dedicated to St. Bean, the first Bishop of it. The King presented the present incumbent, but the Earl of Fife claims the patronage. The stipend is not modified, for the *ipsa corpora* of the small teinds are paid. But the stipend, including Element-money, amounts to about £1,000 Scots. The salary of the school is legal. William Duff of Dipple mortified 500 merks to the school and £1,000 Scots to the poor, and there are £675 Scots more mortified for the use of the poor. The Catechisable persons are 1,800, of which about 60 are Roman Catholics.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. [George Leslie, trans. from Kilconquhar here in 1593. In 1574 Abirlour, Skirdustane, Pettruchny, and Dunmeith, were also in the charge. In 1576 Dunmeith was excluded. Cont. in 1594.]
2. Normond Duncan, trans. from Cawdor, pres. by James VI., prior to 20 Feb., 1593. Cont. in 1599. Was afterwards settled in Skirdustane.
3. Alexander Leslie, pres. by James VI. 7 Nov., 1601. Cont. in 1616.]
4. John Maxwell, 1615. [Son of Maxwell of Cavens, a branch of the family of Kirkhouse in Nithsdale. Trans. to Edinburgh in 1662.]
5. William Forbes, [1623] 1640. [Sub-Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. In 1647 he was sought by the parish of Keith, but cont. here till 1649.]
6. Alexander Seton, 1650. Trans. from Cullen. Trans. to Banff 10 April, 1661.
7. [Alexander Innes, formerly of Rothiemay, adm. 3 July, 1661. Died in 1663, aged about 66.]
8. Thomas Thoirs, trans. from Daviot. Adm. 27 Dec., 1663. Cont. in 1668.]

* The parish was disjoined from the Presbytery of Fordyce and annexed to that of Strathbogie by the Commission 18th March, 1702, and by the General Assembly 9th April, 1706. (*Scott's Fasti.*)

9. Arthur Strachan, [1669] 1688. Depr. by the Privy Council 7 Nov., 1689.
10. [Robert Mitchell, 1689. Went to Fyvie. Died about 1742, aged about 82.]
11. Hugh Innes [1698], ord. about 1700. Died 18 March, 1733 [in his 68th year].
12. Walter Syme, from Glass, adm. 23 April, 1734. Died 16 Jan., 1763. [At which time there was an uncommon mortality in the parish from putrid fever, with intense frost, so that fires had to be kindled in the churchyard to soften the ground for digging the graves. Mr. Sime was one of thirteen bodies lying unburied at the same time.]
13. John Touch, from Aberlaure, adm. 20 Oct., 1763. [Died 23 Oct., 1780, in his 80th year.]
14. [George Gordon, ord. 23 Aug., 1781. Trans. to Aberdeen 2 Oct., 1793.]
15. George Grant, trans. from Old Machar, 2nd charge. Adm. 14 May, 1794. Died 10 Oct., 1804, in his 44th year.
16. Morris Forsyth, son of William Forsyth, Huntly. Adm. 11 Sept., 1805. Died 19 Feb., 1838, in his 68th year.
17. James Alexander Cruickshank, son of the Rev. John C., Glass, schoolmaster of that parish in Sept., 1822. Ord. 8 June, 1836, as assist. to his predecessor above. Adm. 11 May, 1837.]

Bellie, dedicated to St. Peter. The patronage did belong to the Prior of Urquhart, and with the Lordship of Urquhart came to the Earl of Dunfermline. It now belongs to the Duke of Gordon, by the purchase of Urquhart. The stipend, by decreet, is 1,200 merks, and 100 merks for Communion Elements. The school is legal. Mortifications for the poor are £650 Scots. Catechisable persons, 1,600. On the gravestone [not now existing] of Mr. William Saunders is inscribed, "That he lived 108 years, and was Minister of Bellie 77 years."

The Ministers are :—

1. [John Knox, formerly of Keith, cont. in 1599.]
2. Thomas Hay, 1601.]
3. William Saunders, min. before 1600, demitted in 1663 [25 March. Died in his 108th year.]
4. [Alexander Innes, helper, 5 Jan., 1643.]
5. James Horn, assist., [schoolmaster at Grange] ord. 28 Feb., 1650. Trans to Elgin [2nd charge] 1659 [12 July].
6. William Anand, assist., [son of one of the ministers of Inverness] ord. 19 May, 1663. Lived after the Revolution.
7. Charles Primrose, ord. 25 Feb., 1702. Trans. to Forres 1708 [28 Oct.].
8. Thomas MacCulloch, from Birnie, adm. 4 May, 1709. Died 26 Nov., 1750 [in his 81st year].
9. Patrick Gordon, from Rhynie, adm. 3 Oct., 1751. Died at London, Feb. 1769 [20 Feb.]
10. James Gordon, adm. 14 March, 1770. [Died 30 Jan., 1809, in his 82nd year.]
11. [John Anderson, trans. from Kingussie, adm. 20 Sept., 1809. Factor to the Duke of Gordon. Demitted his charge, in consequence, 1 Dec., 1819. Died 22 April, 1839, in his 80th year.]
12. William Rennie, ord. assist. and succ. 8 Sept., 1819. Died 10 Feb., 1837, aged 48.
13. David Dewar, son of James Dewar, factor at Tillicoultry, originally a weaver, then clerk to a lime work. Schoolmaster at Carrington in 1819. Appointed to a school at Fochabers and chaplain to Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption. Died at Fochabers, 1881.
14. 1843. Robert Cushny, youngest son of the numerous family of Rev. Alex. Cushny, long minister of Oyne; M.A. of Aberdeen, ord. in 1836 as assist. and succ. to Rev. Pat. Davidson, Insch. Marr. Catherine Cock, sister of Rev. Dr. Cock, Rathven, by whom he had 3 sons and 2 daughters. Died at Fochabers, 1881, March 26, æt. 71.
15. John Peter Watt, Hogganfield, Glasgow, 13 July, 1881.]

PRESBYTERY OF ABERLAURE.

Dundurcos was a vicarage, depending, it is said, upon the parson of Rathven in the Enzie. Hay of Rannes claims the patronage, but the

Crown is in possession, by presenting Messrs. Thomas Gordon and John Grant. In the north end of the parish stood the Chapel of Grace, and near to it the well of that name, to which multitudes, even from the Western Isles, do still resort, and nothing short of violence can restrain their superstition.

I have spoken of St. Nicholas' Hospital already.

The stipend is 64 bolls of oatmeal and 400 merks, with 40 merks for Communion Elements. The school is not legal. The mortifications for the poor are—£240, and three gardens, and three ridges of land, mortified by several persons. The Catechisable persons are about 1,000. [It was suppressed by the Commissioners of Teinds 26th June, 1782, and united to Boharm and Rothes.]

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. William Peterkin, exhorter in Dundurcos and Dipple, 1569 [7].
2. [Wm. Abercrumby, or John Moderattis, reader in 1574. Died 1576.
3. John Knox, from 1576 to 1580.
4. John Lyill, from 1585 to 1589.
5. Robert Leslie, cont. in 1599. Trans. to Birnie prior to 1601.]
6. John Marishal, min. before 1624. [Pres. by James VI., 20 Feb., 1605.] Died 1651 [after 1 April].
7. John Ray, from Kirkmichael, adm. [prior to 6 Oct.] 1651. Died 1679 [after 8 April].
8. Thomas Ray, ord. [between 2 Oct.] 1660 assist. Died after the Revolution. [Suspended for three Sabbaths for beating Bessie Leslie at night. Deposed for swearing, &c., 7 Aug., 1694.]
9. David Dalrymple [a natural son of Lord Dromore. Schoolmaster at Kettle 23 Nov., 1692] ord. 8 May, 1698. Died 23 Feb., 1747.
10. Thomas Gordon, [son of the min. of Lonmay] ord. 16 Sept., 1747. Trans. to Speymouth [13 June] 1758.
11. John Grant, [son of the Rev. Hugh G., min. of Knockando] ord. 28 Sept., 1758. [Preacher at Enzie. Removed to Boharm, in terms of Decree of Annexation, in 1783.]

Rothes was a parsonage. The Earl of Rothes, patron, but now the Earl of Findlater. The stipend is 40 bolls of oat meal and 370 merks, without allowance for Communion Elements, and without a decree of modification.* The salary of the school is not legal. The Catechisable persons are 500. No mortifications. The inscription on the gravestone of Mr. James Lesly runneth thus:—"Here lies ane Nobleman, Mr. James Lesly, parson of Rothes, brother-german to George, Umquhile Earl of the same, who departed in the Lord, 13 October, 1576." To him succeeded Mr. Alexander Lesly, whose successor was Mr. Leanord Lesly. In a discharge granted by the Earl of Rothes to one Margaret Anderson, dated at the Castle of Rothes anno 1620, Mr. Leanord Lesly, parson, is a witness.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. James Lesly, [3rd son of George, Earl of Rothes] exhorter and parson 1570 [1567 and 1574]. Died 13 Oct., 1576.
2. Alexander Lesly, [from Elches] died about 1610. [Died indweller in Quhytray, parish of Elgin, Sept., 1603.]
3. Leanord Lesly, parson in 1620.
4. John Weems, [Wemyss] brother to Lord Weems, ord. 1 June, 1622. Died 25 Feb., 1640. [His daughter Margaret, by the 2nd wife, Janet Innes, married the Bp. of Moray.]
5. Robert Tod, [at Kirkcaldy] ord. 5 May, 1642. Trans. to Urquhart 1662.

* The late Dr. Simpson, of Worcester, was a native of this parish, and bequeathed £500, the interest of which was enjoyed by the schoolmaster.

The *Jougs* from the "Auld Kirk o' Rothes" are within the Elgin Museum. (ED.)

6. John Lesly, ord. 4 Nov., 1663. [Deposed for swearing in July, 1694.] Died about 1692 [in Oct., 1697, aged about 67.]
7. James Allan, ord. 23 Sept., 1696. Deposed for Bourignonism 29 May, 1706 [for absenting himself from the parish, refusing to sign the Confession of Faith, and for adopting the tenets of Antoinette Bourignon, born 1616, died 1680].*
8. George Lindsay, ord. 22 Aug., 1710. Trans. to Aberlaurie 1714 [5 May].
9. Alexander Tod, ord. 11 Nov., 1714. Died 11 April, 1716.
10. Thomas Fairbairn, ord. [24 April] 1717. Trans. to Gartlie 1719 [22 Sept.].
11. John Paul, [son of Wm. Paul, merchant and bailie of Elgin] ord. 10 Nov., 1720. Died 16 March, 1747.
12. James Gray, [son of John Gray, merchant, Lanark] ord. 14 April, 1748. Trans. to Lanark 1755 [29 April].
13. Alexander Paterson, [son of the min. of St. Andrews] ord. 9 Sept., 1756. Died 28 Oct., 1759.
14. Robert Grant, [native of Elgin] ord. in 1759. Adm. [as missionary at Enzie] 17 July, 1760. Trans. to Cullen 1762 [1 Sept.].
15. James Ogilvie, from Ordequhill, adm. March 24, 1763. [Died 20 May, 1788, aged 66.]
16. George Cruickshank, schoolmaster at Inveraven, appointed assist. and succ. to the former, and ord. 25 Sept., 1788. Died 15 June, 1838, in his 86th year.
17. Alexander Macwatt, ord. 7 Feb., 1839. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption. Died 1880.
18. 1843. George Gray, son of a cobbler in the parish of Monquhitter; at the age of 18 schoolmaster of Boharm, coming barefoot to the competition; m. 1st, Helen Thomson, daughter of the schoolmaster of Rothes, by whom he had two sons and one daughter, all of whom predeceased him; m. 2nd, Marion Ker, daughter of Dr. John Macnish, Glasgow, who predeceased him 5 years, buried in St. Andrew's Episcopal Churchyard, Glasgow. Mr. Gray died 22 Aug., 1879, æt. 77, and was buried at Dundurcas.
19. R. C. Findlay, elected minister of Carsphairn, Kirkcudbright, 1881.

* The writings of this remarkable woman were condemned as "damnable heresy" by the Church of Scotland. They are now rarely to be met with, and are on such subjects as "God's Call and Man's Refusal," "The Light Risen in Darkness," "The Funeral of False Divinity," "The Confusion of the Builders of Babel," "A Treatise of Solid Virtue," "The Touchstone," "The New Heavens and the New Earth," "The Stones of the New Jerusalem," "The Renovation of the Gospel Spirit," &c., &c. (ED.)

Knockando comprehends the united parishes of Knockando and *Ma Calen* (*i.e.*, Saint Colin.), now called Elchies. The former was a vicarage depending on the parson of Inveravon, and the other depended on the parson of Botarie. In 1640 the Synod of Moray required the Ministers of Inveravon and Botarie to provide Knockando and Elchies (*Ma Calen*), *quam primum*, with ministers. (*Syn. Records.*) From 1646 these two parishes remained united till 1683, in which year, in October, Mr. Alexander Ruddach was settled Minister of Elchies. But after the Revolution they were again united. The Laird of Grant, as Patron of Inveravon, claims the patronage of Knockando. The stipend, including Element money, was 830 merks, but, by decree in 1767, it was augmented to 1,012 merks (including Communion Elements) and two chalders of meal. [New Kirk built in 1757.] The school salary is not legal. Archibald Grant of Balintome mortified 1,000 merks, which, with 100 merks raised from the interest of that sum, is to make a salary for teaching poor children. That sum is now become near 1,200 merks. There is mortified for the poor about 230 merks. Catechisable persons are about 1,000.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. [Alexander Saunderson, reader, from 1574 to 1589.]
2. Farquhar Grant, 1590 and 1591.]
3. William Watson, min. before 1624. Trans. to Duthel about 1626.

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4. Gilbert Marshall, [trans. from Ogston] ord. about 1630. Trans. to Cromdale 1640 [before 15 April].
 5. William Chalmer, ord. in 1640. [The parishioners of Botrighnie called him, 26 May, 1652.] Died in 1668 [after 7 April, aged about 54].
 6. James Gordon, [son of John Gordon of Overhall] ord. in 1670. Trans. to Urquhart in 1682 [after 25 April].
 7. Thomas Grant, [adm. 12 July] in 1683. Died about 1700 [in Oct., 1699, aged about 44].
 8. Alexander Ruddach, ord. at Elchies in 1682. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*.]
 9. Daniel MacKenzie, [son of Kenneth, min. of Logie Easter] ord. 12 Feb., 1706. Trans. to Kingusie 1709.
 10. James Gordon, ord. in May, 1712. [Deposed 31 Oct. 1717. Sentence removed by General Assembly 26 May, 1718.] Died in winter 1726 [6 Jan., 1726].
 11. Hugh Grant, [schoolmaster of Alves] ord. Sept., [1 June] 1727. Died 18 Sept., 1763.
 12. John Dunbar, [eldest son of Robert, min. of Dyke] ord. May 3, 1764. [Trans. to Dyke and Moy 17 April, 1788.]
 13. [Francis Grant, ord. as missionary at Enzie, 11 May, 1785. Adm. 14 Aug., 1788. Died 5 Nov., 1805.]
 14. Lachlan M'Pherson, schoolmaster at Grange, 7 July, 1777. Ord. as miss. at Pluscarden, 1 Dec., 1789. Adm. 2 Oct., 1806. Died 14 March, 1826, in his 68th year.
 15. William Asher, ord. 7 Sept., 1826. Trans. to Inveravon, 3 Oct., 1833.
 16. George Gordon, son of Hugh G., Esq., late of Dominica, ord. 30 Jan., 1834. Died 13 Nov., 1839, in his 31st year.
 17. John Wink. 1840.
 18. Francis Wm. Grant. 1851.
 19. John Clark. 1855.
 20. Thomas Morison Pirie. 1867.

Boharm, a parsonage whereof the Earl of Fife is Patron. Ardintullie (called *Artendol*) was the original parish, and Boharm (properly *Bocharn*) was only the Chapel of Moray, Laird of Boharn.

At Galival are the vestiges of a Domestic Chapel, and probably there was a Chapel of Ease

where the Church now stands. There is a glebe at Ardintullie, and another at Boharm. The stipend is 32 bolls meal and 600 merks, with 20 merks for Communion Elements. [New Kirk built in 1793.] The school salary is not legal. The Catechisable persons 600.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. William Rothie, [Kethie] reader in Ardintullie 1569 [1567].
2. [William Peterkin, exhorter at Dundurcus and Dipple in 1567. Pres. to the parsonage by James VI., 26 Jan. same year. In 1574 Dipple was also in this charge. Removed to Dipple prior to 1585.]
3. George Frazer, min. before 1624. Died about 1628 [before 7 May, 1633].
4. Alexander Anderson, ord. about 1629. Trans. in 1633 [to].
5. Thomas Law, ord. in 1634. Trans to Elgin [2nd charge] in 1645.
6. [John Ray, trans. from Kirkmichael, adm. 1646.]
7. George Dunbar, ord. in 1647, [probably 6 Dec., 1646]. Died in 1650.
8. William Harper, ord. in 1655 [25 Oct., 1654]. Died in 1685 [20 Dec., aged about 69].
9. Adam Harper, [eldest son of the former], ord. [5 Sept.] 1686. Demitted [11 June] 1716 [and retired to Cairnwhelp, where he continued to minister. Died 14 May, 1726, aged about 67].
10. George Gordon, ord. 13 [2] May, 1717. Trans. to Alves in 1728 [22 Oct.].
11. John Gilchrist, ord. [26 Aug.] 1720. Trans. to Urquhart in 1734 [16 Oct., 1733].
12. George Grant, [catechist in the parish of Rathven] ord. [17 Dec.] in 1734. Trans. to Rathven in 1752 [15 April].
13. Thomas Johnston, from Glenbucket, adm. 31 May, 1753. [Died 6 Feb., 1783.]
14. John Grant, from Dundurcos, June, 1783. Trans. to Elgin 2 Sept., 1788.
15. Francis Leslie, trans. from Rothiemay. Adm. 14 May, 1789. Died 7 Dec., 1799, aged about 53.
16. Patrick Forbes, son of the Rev. Francis F., Grange, schoolmaster of the parish, 1 May, 1800. Ord. 14 Aug., 1800. Trans. to 2nd charge of Old Machar, 25 April, 1816. Appointed Professor of Humanity, King's College, Aberdeen . Died .
17. Lewis Wm. Forbes, eldest son of George F., Sheriff-Substitute of Banffshire, ord. 20 Aug., 1816. D.D. Aberdeen in May, 1851. Moderator of General Assembly 20 May, 1852. M. 1st, Penelope Cowie, 1816; 2nd, Eliz. Young. Died 8 Jan., 1854, in his 60th year.

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18. Alexander Murdoch, ord. 1854. *M.* Jane Stewart, 1868. Died 1868.
 19. Alexander Masson, ord. 1869. Died 1879.
 20. Stephen Ree, ord. 1880.

Aberlaure and *Skirdrostan* (the last dedicated to St. Durstan) were distinct charges, but how early they were united I find not. In 1640 Walter Innes of Auchluncart, Adam Duff of Drummuir, and James Sutherland, tutor of Duffus, presented severally to this Church; and Duffus' right being examined by the Commissaries of Moray and Inverness, and some Ministers, was found good. (*Syn. Rec.*). Now the Earl of Fife acteth as Patron, probably as coming in the place of Lord Balvanie.

I have already taken notice of the Religious House of Kinermonie. (Vide Vol. III., p. 237.) The stipend is 850 merks, with 50 merks for Communion Elements. [New Kirk built in 1824; burnt 1861.] The school is not legal. The mortifications:—

By Alexander Grant of Alachie, - - - - -	£100	0	0
William Innes of Kinermonie, for which the Earl of Fife pays annually $3\frac{1}{2}$ bolls oat meal, - - - - -	350	0	0
John Proctor, - - - - -	66	13	4
Patrick Clark in Boharm, - - - - -	30	0	0
Alexander Green, - - - - -	66	13	4
And John MacKeran in Glenrinnes, - - - - -	66	13	4
 Total (in Scots money), - - - - -	 £680	 0	 0

The Catechisable persons are 840.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. [Norman Duncan, 1607, formerly of Mortlach, cont. in 1608. To induce his parishioners to attend Kirk he indulged with them in a game at football.]
2. John Stuart, settled before 1624 [1614]. Died 1 April, 1639. [Aged about 55.]
3. George Speed, [schoolmaster at Keith and then at Fordyce] ord. in June, 1640. Died 22 Aug., 1668. [Aged about 64.]
4. Robert Stephen, ord. in summer 1669. Died Dec., 1705.
5. Robert Stephen, [son of the former] ord. 18 Sept., 1707. Trans. to Craig of Monross [14 April] 1714.
6. George Lindsey, from Rothes, adm. in winter [12 May] 1714. Died in 1715 [23 Jan.].
7. Daniel MacKenzie, from Kingusie, adm. [13] Dec., 1715. Trans. to Inveravon 1718.
8. Robert Duff, [from Kildrummy] ord. in March, 1719. [Adm. 21 Oct.] Died in [15] July, 1738.
9. John Touch [native of Banff, schoolmaster at Marnoch, 1721. Miss. in the parish of Huntly. Appointed to Pluscardine 3 Feb., 1736. Afterwards at Enzie] ord. 31 May, 1730. Trans. to Mortlich in 1763 [29 Sept.].
10. James Thomson, [schoolmaster at Keith] ord. in 17 . Adm. 20 Feb., 1766. [Died 9 Feb., 1801, aged 79.] *
11. Alex. Wilson, native of Auldearn, master of the Grammar School, Elgin; ord. 24 Sep., 1801. Died 20 Aug., 1842, aged 85.
12. James Sellar. D.D., native of Keith, schoolmaster of St. Andrews-Lhanbryd ; ord. 1843. From a cobbler, being brought up a Burgher, he rose to be Moderator of the General Assembly. M. Eliz. Johnston Watson, 1878. Coals, tea, and sugar to the Poor.

Inveravon, a parsonage dedicated to St. Peter. It was the seat of the Chancellor of the Diocese, and the vicarages of Knockando and Urquhart, beyond Inverness, depended on it. The Laird of Grant is Patron. Mr. William Coggie, being transported to Inverness, retained the revenues of

* *N.B. — Lite Pendente.* The Duke of Gordon and Earl of Fife agreed to this last settlement, *Salvo jure*.

the Chancellory till the Synod, 1624, obliged him to demit them. There was a Chapel of Ease in the south-west corner, called Kil-Machlie, and two in Glenlivat, viz., at Daskie and at Dunan. The stipend, by a decree in 1685, was 830 merks, with 36 merks for Element money; but, anno 1769, an augmentation was obtained of £16 Scots and three chalders of meal, valued at £6 Scots per boll. [New Kirk built in 1806.] Mortifications for the poor are 700 merks. The school is legal. Catechisable persons 1660, whereof about 500 are Roman Catholics.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. [The parish was supplied by John Porteous, reader, from 1574 to 1580.]
2. Alexander Gordon, 1573, cont. in 1576, holding at same time Kirkmichael.]
3. William Coggie, [trans. from Elgin 1608] settled before 1610. Trans. to Inverness about 1620.
4. Alexander Innes, [trans. from Kinedder. Adm. in 1624] ord. about 1622. Trans. to Rothiemay about 1630 [1629].
5. John Chalmers, [son of the min. of Kinore] ord. about 1631. [Ord. in Nov. 1630.] Trans. to Gartlie in 1649 [27 June].
6. Alexander Gordon, [schoolmaster at Rothiemay] ord. in 1650 [prior to 1 Oct.]. Deposed for immorality [habitual drunkenness] in 1657. [Excommunicated for exercising the ministry in defiance 5 Aug., 1657.]
7. George Hannay (vide Alves), adm. [between 7 April] in 1658. Trans. to Aldern 1664.
8. Alexander Dunbar, ord. in 1665. Trans. [to Delting] in 1668.
9. James Stuart, [native of Strathdown, schoolmaster at Inverness] ord. 22 Sept., 1669. Dem. in 1681 on account of the Test. [Died 1697, aged about 43.]
10. John Stuart, ord. in summer 1682. Died in 1697. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*.]
11. James Bannerman, ord. 15 April, 1703. Trans. to Forglen 1717 [27 Feb.].
12. Daniel MacKenzie, from Aberlaure, adm. [8 July] 1718. Trans. to Pettie 1719 [22 Sept.].

13. Alexander Fraser, from Alvie, adm. 21 Sept., 1721. Died 13 Feb., 1752 [aged about 86].
14. James Grant, [son of James Grant, farmer, Pitgavenie] ord. [by the Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil 14 Aug.] 1751 [as miss. at Braemar]. Adm. 23 Nov., 1752. [Died 3 Feb., 1795, in his 77th year.]
15. [William Spence, ord. 22 Sept., 1795. Died 30 July, 1807, in his 46th year.]
16. William Grant, ord. by the Presbytery of Strathbogie 2 May, 1798, as assist. to the Rev. Robert Innes of Huntly. Became miss. at Portsoy in 1800. Adm. 16 May, 1808. Died 12 April, 1833, in his 75th year.
17. William Asher, trans. from Knockando. Adm. 17 Oct., 1833. D.D. Glasgow, April 1866. *M.* Katherine Forbes. Died 1874.
18. James M'Lachlan, ord. 1874. Minister of Rathven 1866. *M.* Elspeth Kynoch, from Keith.

PRESBYTERY OF ABERNETHIE.

Kirkmichael, a Parsonage dedicated to Michael the Archangel. The Laird of Grant is patron. At Camdale, in the upper end of the parish, was a Chapel of Ease, dedicated to St. Brigida or Bryde. The stipend is 800 merks, and 50 merks for Communion Elements. There is no legal school. Examinable persons are about 1000, whereof 200 are Roman Catholics.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. [1574. Alex. Gordoun, having Innerawin and Knockandoch with £13 6s. 8d. of stipend, he paying his readers; cont. in 1588.]
2. 1601. Samuel Cokburne had also Inneravin this year. Trans. to Minto in 1609.
3. 1622. John Gordoun. Trans. to Kinedar prior to 1625.]
4. Peter Grant was min. at Kirkmichael and Cromdale about 1600. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti. Ecc. Scot.*]
5. John Ray succeeded, and was trans. to Dundurcos in 1651.
6. Alexr. Gordon [schoolmaster at Rothiemay about 1647.] Ord. in 1651. Died in 1684. [14th Jan., 1685.]
7. Colin Nicholson from Abernethie, adm. 1685. [Deprived by the Privy Council 7 Nov., 1689.] Died 25 Sep., 1709. [Aged about 66.]

8. Duncan MacLea [eldest son of Arch. M'L., mercht., Rothesay, schoolmaster at Kilmordan 1699, and at Inverary, which he left in 1708.] Ord. Sep. 1712. Trans. to Doul [Dull] in 1717.
9. David Muschet, ord. in 1718 [by the Presbytery of Aberlour, 21 Jan., 1719 as missionary at Glenlivet. Adm. 14 Oct.] Died in 1724 [between 31 Oct., 1721, and 26 June, 1722.]
10. Geo. Grant [assist. at Glenlivet, 1724], ord. 21 Sep., 1725. Died 27 April, 1772 [in his 80th year]. He married a daughter of the Rev. James Chapman of Cromdale. She predeceased her husband, and had 21 children, 16 of whom arrived at maturity; and on a stipend of £47 4s. 3½d. left each £100. Three of his sons were Ministers—James at Inverness, Lewis at Duthil, and Alexander at Daviot.]
11. Robt. Farquharson [miss. at Corgarff], ord. 4 Oct. [prior to 1 Oct.] 1792. [Trans. to Logie-Coldstane in 1779.]
12. [John Grant. Trans. from Arrochar. Adm. 10 March, 1780. Trans. to Duthil, 25 July, 1809.]
13. [Patrick Grant, native of Inverness-shire. Ord. as miss. at Brae-Badenoch and Brae-Lochaber, 1807. Assist. to the Rev. John Anderson, Kingussie. Adm. 21 Nov., 1809. Died 8 Nov., 1816, in his 31st year.]
14. William Grant, native of Delrachy, Inverness-shire. Educated at home and at Fordyce Parish School. Miss. at Braemar, 1810. Adm. 30 July, 1817. Trans. to Duthil and Rothiemurchus 18 Jan., 1820.
15. Alexander Tulloch, native of Lybster. Ord. 14 Sep., 1820. Joined the Free Kirk 19 July, 1843. Died at Elgin 5 Dec., 1855, in his 76th year.
16. James Grant.

Cromdale, Inveralen, and Advie are now united in one parish. How early they were so united, I find not. There is a glebe at Cromdale, and another at Advie. Cromdale is a parsonage dedicated to St. Ma-Luac. The laird of Grant is patron.

The stipend was 800 merks, and 60 merks for Communion Elements, but about the year 1767 it was augmented to £75 sterling, or 1350 merks Scots. [New Kirk built in 1809.] The school is legal. Catechisable persons are at least 2200.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. Mr. Peter [Patrick] Grant, min. of Cromdale and Kirk Michael about 1600 [1595. Removed from Advie, having also Inverallen and Duthil in charge. Returned to Advie in 1596.]
2. David Dack [Dick] was settled before 1624. Died 1638.
3. Gilbert Marshal, from Knockando. Adm. 1640. Died about 1666 [2 Oct.]
4. Gilbert Marshall, Jun. [son of the former.] Ord. 1667 [prior to 2 Oct., 1666.] Trans. to Inverness 1674 [after 5 May.]
5. John Stewart, ord. 26 Jan., 1676. Ejected in 1690 [by the Privy Council, 16 Sep., aged about 47.]
6. William Mackay from Dornoch, adm. [after 17 April] 1694. Died in 1700.
7. James Chapman, from Calder, adm. 25 Nov., 1702. Died in Dec., 1737 [aged about 63.]
8. Francis Grant, from Duthil, adm. in 1740 [4 July, 1739.] Died in July, 1746 [19 June.]
9. Patrick Grant, ord. 19 Sep., 1751. [Died 15 Feb., 1778, aged 55.]
10. [Lewis Grant, trans. from Duthil. Adm. 14 July, 1778. Died 9 Jan., 1798, in his 63rd year.]
11. Grigor Grant, native of Ross-shire. Assist. to the former, in 1794. Ord. 7 Nov., 1798. Died 13 Sep., 1829, in his 59th year.
12. James Grant, native of the county. Ord. 14 April, 1830. Died 2 April, 1856.
13. Duncan M'Innes, 1856.
14. Ranald M'Alister, 1869.

[*Inverallan* united to Cromdale. The Church of Grantown was declared by the Presbytery (26 March, 1816) to be that of the parish, which was erected as a *Quoad Sacra* by the Court of Teinds, 24 May, 1869.]

1576. Wm. Hay, Kincardin and Duthell being also in the charge. Cont. in 1586.

[*Advie* united to Cromdale.]

1. 1574. Thomas Austiane, pres. to the vicarage and parsonage of Advie and Cromdell by James VI. Cont. in 1585.
2. 1590. Patrick Grant, trans. from Abernethy. In 1593 Inneralloun was added to the charge. Removed to Cromdale in 1595. Returned in 1596. Was pres. to the vicarage of Abernethy and Rothiemurchus 29 July, 1608. Returned to Abernethy in 1624.]

Abernethie and *Kinchardine* united in one parish, but distinct places of worship. The Minister has a glebe in each. *Abernethie* was dedicated to St. George. The laird of Grant is patron. There was a chapel in Conigess, in the east end of the parish, and another two miles above the Church, on the bank of Nethie.

The stipend was 800 merks, with 50 merks for Communion service; but about the year 1767, it was augmented to £64 sterling, or 1152 merks Scots. The school is not legal. Catechisable persons are about 1200.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. John Glass, exhorter [reader and exhorter "in the Irische toung"] in *Abernethy* and *Kingussie*, 1567.
2. William Farquharson, 1574. Cont. in 1580.
3. Patrick Grant, min. in 1624 [1585. Trans. to *Advie* after 1589. Returned prior to Oct., 1624, wishing to demit *Kincardine*.] Died about 1630.
4. Colin MacKenzie [formerly of *Abernethy*.] Ord. about 1634. [Adm. 7 May, 1633.] Trans. to *Contane* in 1646 [12th May, 1641.]
5. Roderick M'Kenzie. Adm. before 14 Oct., 1642. Trans. to *Gairloch* prior to 14 July, 1646.]
6. John Sanderson, ord. in 1650. [Cont. 4 Oct., 1670.] Died about 1677.
7. Colin Nicholson [schoolmaster at *Cawdor*], ord. Assist. 12 August, 1670. Trans. to *Kirk-Michael* [after 20th Oct.] 1685.
8. James Grant, from *Urquhart* [and *Glenmoriston*], adm. [bet. 6 Oct.] 1686. Ejected [by the Privy Council] in 1690. [Died in 1693, aged about 44.]
9. William Grant (after a vacancy of 19 years), ord. 19 May, 1709. Died 27 June, 1764 [in his 96th year.]
10. John Grant, from *Arochar*, adm. 26 Sep., 1765. [Died 21 Jan., 1820, in his 85th year.]
11. [Donald Martin, from *Inverness Chapel of Ease*, adm. 15 Aug., 1820. Died 24 Jan., 1833, in his 88th year.]
12. James Stewart, youngest son of Adam Stewart, farmer, *Dalvey*, ord. 6 Sep., 1838. Died 22 July, 1862, aged 57.
13. 1863. William Forsyth.

Duthel and *Rothemurchus* united—the former dedicated to St. Peter and the other to St. Tuchaldus. The laird of Grant is patron. Attempts were made in 1624, and afterwards, to unite Kinchardine and Rothiemurchus, but failed for want of stipend. But in 1630 Duthil and Rothiemurchus have been united, but distinct places of worship, and a glebe in each parish.

There was in Achnahatnich in Rothiemurchus a chapel dedicated to St. Eata. The stipend was 800 merks, with 55 merks for Communion Elements; but about the year 1767 it was augmented to £64 sterling, or 1152 merks. Catechisable persons are 1400.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. [William Fraser, having Skeiralloway also annexed, cont. at Rothiemurchus from 1614 to 1616.]
2. Andrew Henderson, ord. at Rothiemurchus [29 Aug.] 1625. Trans. to Balwhidder 1630 [27 April.]
3. William Watson, from Elches, adm. at Duthil 1626. Died about 1655.
4. James Watson [son of the former], ord. about 1657 [before 15 June (probably as helper), 1652. Cont. 5 Oct., 1658.] Died 1659.
5. William Fraser, ord. [13 Jan.] 1664. Died or was trans. in 1666 [after 3 Oct., 1665.]
6. William Smith, ord. [before 1 Oct.] 1667. Deposed [10 Oct.] 1682, for immoralities [for drunkenness.]
7. Sueton Grant, ord. [before 16 Oct.] 1683. Ejected [by the Privy Council] in 1690. [Died 1693, aged about 36.]
8. Donald MacIntosh, from Farr, adm. 1695. Demitted in 1708.
9. Francis Grant, after a vacancy of 11 years, ord. [22] Sep., 1719. Trans. to Cromdale 1740 [27 March.]
10. Patrick Grant [a native of Cromdale], ord. 3 Dec., 1740. Trans. to Nuig [Nigg] 1755 [6th Nov.]
11. Robert Grant [of Kinchirky], ord. 19 April, 1758. Died 12 Mar. [13 Feb.], 1759.
12. Lewis Grant [son of the Rev. George Grant of Kirkmichael], ord. 20 Sep., 1759. [Trans. to Cromdale 1778.]

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13. [Patrick Grant, miss. at Fort-William, adm. 24 Sep., 1778. Died 21 Jan., 1809.]
 14. John Grant. trans. from Kirkmichael. Adm. 27 Sep., 1809. Died 1 July, 1819, in his 77th year.
 15. William Grant, trans. from Kirkmichael. Adm. 28 March, 1820. Died 22 Aug., 1862, aged 76.
 16. William Grant, 1864.

1. Andrew Rutherford, 1844. Q.S. Rothiemurchus 1844.
2. Neil M'Intyre, 1855.
3. John Grant, 1869.
4. James Bain, 1878.

Alvie, a parsonage dedicated to St. Drostan. The Duke of Gordon is patron. This parish was sometime united with Laggan (*Vide Laggan.*) [The Church, “quhilk was an common kirk pertaining to the vicars of the queir of the Cathedral Kirk of Moray” was united by the Bishop to Laggan before 1673, but disjoined about 1638; and again united by Bishop Mackenzie to Laggan in 1672, and disjoined about 1708.—(Scott’s *Fasti.*)] There were several Chapels in this parish—one at Kinrara, on the west side of the river, dedicated to St. Eata; a Chapel of Ease at Dunachtin, dedicated to St. Drostan; and Ma-Luac Chapel in Rates. I have before me a seasine on the land of Croft Ma-Luac, in favour

of James MacIntosh, alias Maconald Glas, ancestor to MacIntosh of Strone, by George, Bishop of Moray, anno 1575.

The stipend, by decreet in 1720, is 800 merks, with 90 merks for Communion Elements. There is no school. [Church built in 1798. Repaired in 1831. Sittings 500. Stipend, £158 4s. 6d.] The Catechisable persons are 700.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. James Spense, exhorter in 1572. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
2. James Lyle was min. in and before 1624. (Vide *Laggan.*) [Omitted also by Dr. Scott.]
3. [John Ross, son of John Ross, Provost of Inverness, was pres. by James VI. 31 March, 1579, but does not seem to have been settled.]
4. William Makintosche, demitted prior to 19 Aug., 1585.
5. Soverane Makpherlene or M'Phail, pres. by James VI. 19 Aug., 1585, and 6 April, 1586. Cont. in 1594.
6. Robert Leslie cont. in 1597.
7. Roderick Sutherland cont. in 1601.
8. Roderick M'Leod, 1632. Deposed for fornication 1642. Probably the same as
9. Roderick MacKenzie, ord. 1637. Deposed for whoredom.
10. Thomas MacPherson [schoolmaster in Lochaber 4 April, 1660], ord. [before 21 Oct.] 1662. Died about 1707 [1708.]
11. Alexander Fraser, ord. 13 Sep., 1713. Trans. to Inveravon 1721 [26 April.]
12. Ludowick [Lewis] Chapman, ord. Sep. [25], 1728. Trans. to Pettie 1738 [30 March.]
13. William Gordon [*alias* M'Gregor] from Urquhart [and Glenmoriston], adm. 20 Sep., 1739. [Died 2 April, 1787, in his 101st year.]
14. [John Gordon, native of Ross, miss. at Fort-William. Adm. 8 May, 1788. Died 6 Oct., 1805, in his 55th year.]
15. John M'Donald, native of the county, ord. in Dec., 1803, as Assist. to the Rev. John Anderson, Kingussie. Adm. 24 July, 1806. Married a fourth time. Died 16 April, 1845.
16. Donald M'Donald, 1854.

Kingussie, a parsonage dedicated to St. Colum [Columba]; and *Inch*, a vicarage dedicated to St. Ewan. The Duke of Gordon is patron. How early these parishes were united I find not. Inch (q. *Inis*, an *Island*) is so called because the river Spey sometimes floweth around the hill on which the Church standeth. The Church of Kingussie was built in 1624, where the Priory stood. There were Chapels at Invertromie and Noid, and Brigida's Chapel at Benchar. The Minister preaches at both places, and has a glebe at each.

The stipend, by agreement and decree in 1758, including Communion Elements, is 1000 merks. The school is legal, erected about 1650, by 2000 merks vacant stipend, mortified and lately secured upon some of MacPherson of Clunie's lands. The Examinable persons are 1400.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. John Glass, exhorter in Kingusie and Abernethie, 1567. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
2. Archibald Henderson, parson, 1574.
3. [Andrew Makphail, trans. from Farnua. Cont. in 1589.]
4. Angus MacIntosh, ord. about 1600 [prior to 1614.] Died in winter 1643.
5. Lauchlan Grant, from Moy [and Dalarossie], adm. 1649. Died in 1668 [6 April, 1670, aged about 65.]
6. Hector Mac-Kenzie [native of Sutherland], ord. 30 Nov., 1670. Trans. to Inverness 1688.
7. Donald Taylor [entered session clerk at Foveran 17 Feb., 1678], officiated till 1701, but not legally settled.
8. John MacKenzie [formerly of Inverchaolain. Intruded at Tarbert.] Adm. in 1701. Trans. to Laggan 1709.

9. Daniel MacKenzie, from Knockando, adm. 1709. Trans. to Aberlaure 1715 [22 Nov.]
10. LACHLAN SHAW [original Author of this Work], ord. 20 Sep. 1716. Trans. to Calder 1719 [28 Oct.]
11. William Blair, ord. an itinerant [15 April as miss. at Glenlivet] 1721. Adm. 10 Sep., 1724. [Died 25 Dec., 1780, in his 87th year.]
12. [John Anderson, ord. 15 July, 1782. Trans. to Bellie 25 July, 1809.
13. John Robertson, trans. from Rothesay Chapel of Ease. Adm. 16 Aug., 1810. Died 4 March, 1825, in his 68th year.
14. George Shepherd, trans. from Laggan, adm. 14 July, 1825. Joined the Free Kirk of Scotland. Adm. to the South Free Church, Elgin, in Oct., 1852. Died of apoplexy, while on a visit at Aberdeen, 20 July, 1853, in his 59th year.
15. Charles Grant.
16. A. Cameron.
17. Grigor Stuart.
18. William Forsyth, 1863.
19. Kenneth Mackenzie, 1879.

PRESBYTERY OF ELGIN.

Dipple, proceeding from east to west. I begin with the parish of Speymouth,* which comprises the old parishes Dipple and Essil, of which I shall first treat.

Dipple, a parsonage dedicated to the Holy Ghost, whereof the Earl of Moray is patron. At the Churchyard-Style there stood a small house, commonly called “The House of the Holy Ghost,” around which, sun-way, the people made a tour with the corpse at burials, and could not be restrained from this superstition till the walls were quite razed of late. The parson of Dipple was Titular of Ruthven in Strathbogie.

* [N.B.—The parish was suppressed by the Commissioners of Teinds, 14 July, 1731, to form the parish of Speymouth.]

The Protestant Ministers of Dipple were :—

1. [Alexander Stronach, reader, 1574.]
2. Alexander Watt, 1578-9.
3. Adam Hepburn, parson, 1574. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
4. William Peterkin [1585. Removed from Ardintullie], Exhorter in Dipple and Dundurcos 1570. [Cont. in 1586.]
5. Alexander Hay, parson [trans. from Rhynie], 1591 [1588.] Died 1624. [Died of gout.]
6. Walter Smith, ord. [before 25 Oct.] 1625. Died 1655.
[N.B.—1645. The parish had neither reader nor schoolmaster this year.]
7. Thomas Urquhart, ord. 13 Aug., 1656. Trans. to Essil 1658. [26 May.]
8. George Innes [son of Alex. Innes, mercht., Holland, descended from the old family of Benwell, schoolmaster at Belhelvie], ord. 14 Oct., 1658. Demitted for Nonconformity 1663. [Trans. to Kinnairney before 25 Nov. 1663.]
9. Alexander Marshal [chaplain in the family of Innes], ord. 24 Aug., 1664. Demitted in 1682 on account of the Test. [He retired to Tillicoultry, and died in Jan., 1709.]
10. John Scott, ord. in May, 1683. Died in June, 1726. [His purse was stolen from him in 1699 by "Egyptians," i.e. Gypsies, at St. Ruffus' Fair.]
11. John Paterson, ord. 22 March, 1727. Trans. to St. Andrews 1731 [4 Nov.]

Essil,* dedicated to St. Peter, was the seat of the Sub-Treasurer; and in 1670 Mr. David Colless, Minister of Kinedar, presented (with consent of Sir Ludowick Gordon of Gordonstoun) Mr. Alexander Lindsay. Likewise in 1676, the Minister of Kinedar, with consent foresaid, presented Mr. George Cummine.

The Protestant Ministers were :—

1. Robert Keith, min. at Urchard, Langbryde, and Essil, 1567.
2. John Blinshall, reader in these parishes, 1567.
3. John Peters. I find not the precise time of his serving.
[The above omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]

* [N.B.—The parish was suppressed, and annexed to Dipple by the Commissioners of Teinds 14 July, 1731, thus forming the parish of Speymouth.]

4. [Alexander Innes, 1588. Trans. to Birnie 1588 or 1589.]
5. Bartholomew Robertson. Trans. to Llanbryde 1601.]
6. William Roch from Ogston, adm. 1601. Died 2 Feb., 1651.
7. Colin Falconer [only son of Wm. F. of Dunduff], ord. 2 Oct., 1651. Trans. to Forres 1658 [3 March.] [Bishop.]
8. Thomas Urquhart, from Dipple, adm. 30 June, 1658. Deposed 1663 for Nonconformity [by Murdoch M'Kenzie, Bishop of Moray, and was one of those imprisoned in Forres in 1668 for preaching in his own house.]
9. Alexander Dunbar, from Birnie, adm. 8 July, 1663. Trans. in 1667. [Was subsequently in Dunfermline.]
10. Alexander Lindsay, ord. 13 Dec., 1670. Trans. to Urquhart 1676.
11. George Cumming [second son of George C. of Lochtervandich, Provost of Elgin], ord. 20 Sep., 1676. Died 20 Sep., 1723 [aged about 76.]
12. James Gilchrist [son of the Rev. John G. of Keith], ord. 2 March, 1725. Trans. to Foveran 1727 [30 Aug.]
13. Robert Milne, ord. 19 Nov., 1728. Became min. of Speymouth 1731 [4 Nov.]

Speymouth is made up of the parishes of Dipple and Essil, and the Barony of Germach united, and erected into one parish, by a decree of the Court of Session, of date 14th July, 1731, to take effect at the death or removal of one of the then incumbent Ministers, which happened that same year by transporting Mr. John Paterson from Dipple to St. Andrews. The old kirks were suffered to go into decay, and a new kirk was built in the centre of the united parish in 1732, and called "Speymouth Kirk." But the old Churchyards continue to be the places for burying. No grave is allowed to be digged at the new Church.

The glebes of Dipple and Essil were dispossed to Braco (now Earl of Fife), who granted a glebe and built a manse at some little distance from the Kirk. By annexing the Barony of Germach

to this parish, £200 Scots of the Teind Fishing of Spey is added to the stipend.

The town and Barony of Germach, though within half a mile of the Kirk of Essil, was a part of the parish of Urquhart, and three miles from that Kirk. The Bishops kept it in this parish that they might have the said £200.

In 1649, Germach was annexed to Essil by the Presbytery, with consent of the Heritors, and the Minister of Essil was to enjoy the £200. To explain this, observe that King Charles I., being indebted £7000 sterling to James Livingston of the Bedchamber, granted him in 1642 a gift of the rents and profits of the Bishopric of Moray and others, for payment, with power to sell and dispone the same. Mr. Livingston, in 1647, conveyed his right to John, Earl of Crawford, Treasurer, who by his disposition of date 9th June, 1648, sold the teind fishing of Spey to Sir Robert Innes of Innes, for £800 Scots, with the burden of £200 to the Minister of Essil. The Minister of Essil enjoyed the £200 till 1662, and then the Bishop took the money to himself, and re-annexed Germach to Urquhart. After the Revolution, the King's College of Aberdeen got possession of the £200 Scots. But Mr. Robert Miln, Minister of Speymouth, recovered this, as a part of his stipend.

The Earl of Moray and the Laird of Gordonston are patrons, *per vices*, of the united parish

(Vide *Kenedar*.) The stipend, by decreet in 1730, is, including Communion Elements, £341 0s. 4d., and 109 bolls 1 firlot $3\frac{1}{2}$ pecks, whereof 32 bolls $1\frac{1}{2}$ pecks are oatmeal at $8\frac{1}{2}$ stone per boll. The school is legal.

Mortifications are—£666 13s. 4d. to the poor of Dipple; £333 6s. 8d. to the school of Dipple, and two bolls meal annually; £333 6s. 8d. to the poor of Essil, and as much to the school thereof; all by William Duff of Dipple. £200 to the poor of Dipple, by William Ego in Beathill; and 2000 merks for a school in Germach, by Peter Gordon, watchmaker in Edinburgh. The Catechisable are 840.

The Ministers, since the union of the parishes, are :—

1. Robert Milne [formerly of Essil], ord. 19 Nov., 1728. Died 5 Jan., 1758.
2. Thomas Gordon, from Dundureos, adm. 6 July, 1758. [Died 18 July, 1784, in his 63rd year.]
3. [James Gillan, trans. from Kinloss. Adm. 11 Oct., 1785. D.D. St. Andrews. Died 5 Sep., 1828, in his 78th year.]
4. John Gordon, ord. 5 May, 1829. Died of hydrothorax 16 Aug., 1848, in his 51st year.
5. 1848. John Cushney.

Urquhart, a parsonage dedicated to St. Margaret. The Prior of Urquhart was patron; and now the Duke of Gordon, coming in the place of the Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Urquhart, is patron. The stipend, by a decreet in 1650, is 5 chalders, half barley and half oatmeal, £300 Scots, with 50 merks for Communion Elements.

The salary of the school is 12 bolls of meal, mortified by Dunfermline, and paid out of the Mill of Urquhart. John Innes of Darkland mortified to the poor £133 6s. 8d. Mr. James Park mortified £2000 Scots, for two bursars in Philosophy in the King's College of Aberdeen.

The Examinable persons are 870.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. Robert Keith, min. at Urquhart, Lanbride, and Essil, 1567. [Trans. to Kinore 1572.]
2. John Blenshal, reader in 1567. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
3. [Patrick Balfour, trans. to Alves, having Llanbryd also, 1574.]
4. John Gartlie, trans. from Slains, having Llanbryd and Rothes, 1576.
5. Patrick Cumming, trans. from Dallas, having as above, 1578.
6. John Innes, formerly at Fintray, 1579. Deposed 27 April, 1593.]
7. James Guthrie, min. in 1599 [1595.] Died in June, 1647.
8. James Park, ord. 15 July, 1647. Deposed in 1660 for diverse crimes [for "seditious and treasonable doctrine." He gave sums of money towards the new buildings of King's College] Aberdeen, in 1658, and by a settlement after his death bequests were left for two bursars. Retiring to his property of Cranoch, he died at Clayfords, Strichen, 5 Aug., 1691, aged about 76.]
9. Robert Tod, from Rothes, adm. 31 Dec. [27 Nov.], 1662. Died [7 April, 1676, aged about 61.]
10. Alexander Lindsay, from Essil, adm. 23 July, 1676. Died [8] Sep. that year [aged about 27.]
11. William Geddes, from Wick, adm. 1 June, 1677. Demitted in 1682 for the test [and was subsequently settled at Wick.]
12. James Gordon, from Knockando, adm. 4 July, 1682. [Dep. by Privy Council.]
13. John Stewart, served immediately after the Revolution [1690.] Died 6 May, 1692.
14. James and John Urquhart [father and son] (vide *Kinloss*), adm 1695. James died 16 April, 1701, and John 31 Oct., 1731.
15. John Gilchrist, from Boharm, adm. 12 March, 1734. Died 4 Jan., 1739 [in his 38th year.]
16. James Spence [son of James S., writer, Kirkton-Alves], ord. 26 Nov. 1740. Died March 20, 1768.
17. William Gordon, ord. privately [as miss. at Glenlivat 23 Aug., 1768. Adm. Jan. 12, 1769. [Died 18 July, 1810, in his 67th year.]
18. [Alex. Walker, trans. from Old Machar, 2nd charge, adm. 4 April, 1811. Trans. to Elgin 24 Dec., 1824.]

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19. James Maclean, son of John M., a cadet of the family of Achot, trans. from Keith. Adm. 24 March, 1825. Died 24 Nov., 1840, aged 82.
 20. Alexander Walker. 1841.
 21. Henry Walker. 1847.
 22. Gordon Ingram. 1859.

Lanbride, a vicarage dedicated to St. Brigida. The Minister of Alves was patron and Titular, and had 40 bolls of teinds annually paid to him. He presented Mr. James Cook anno 1682; but Alexander Tod was presented in 1669, by the Bishop *Jure Devoluto*, with the consent of the Earl of Moray. (*Presb. Reg.*) "In 1708 the Treasury gifted the vacant stipends of Lanbride to the town of Lanark. The Earl of Moray claimed the stipend as patron of Lanbride, *qua* patron of Alves, for *Patronus Patroni mei est Patronus meus*. The Lords, 5th February, 1709, rejected the Earl's claim, unless he instruct that he has a particular right of patronage of that Church." (*Forb. Decis.*) Yet the Earl continues to present without interruption.

The stipend, by a decreet in 1717, is 100 bolls, 3 firlots, 2 pecks, $3\frac{1}{4}$ lippies, of bear and meal, and £18 4s. for Communion Elements. The salary for the school is 6 bolls 3 firlots, and 25 merks annually of a mortification. Dipple mortified 1000 merks and Innes of Darkland 900 merks for the poor. The Catechisable persons are 348.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. Patrick Balfour, min. at Alves and Lanbride, 1567.
2. Andrew Stronach, exhorter, 1567.

3. John Blenshal, reader, 1567.
[The above omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
4. [George Douglas, reader, pres. to the vicarage by James VI. 13 Oct., 1573.]
5. Bartholomew Robertson, min. 1603. [Trans. to Essil. Trans. from Kirkhill before 1608.]
6. [Gavin Dunbar, 1608. Trans. to Alves in 1612.]
7. William Fraser, min. in 1623. Died in 1626 [aged about 34.]
8. Alex. Anderson, ord. 1627 [prior to 30 Oct.] Died 1667 [in April.]
9. Alexander Tod [schoolmaster of Urquhart], ord. 31 March, 1669 [by Murdoch M'Kenzie, Bishop of Moray.] Trans. to Elgin, 1682.
10. James Cook [native of Ardblair], ord. 21 Dec., 1682. Died 1707 [aged about 69. Dep. by the Privy Council.]
11. Walter Stewart, ord. 31 Jan., 1710. Died [25] Dec., 1725.
12. John Stewart [probably son of the former], ord. 23 March, 1727. Trans. to Drumblade 1734 [6 Nov., 1733.]
13. Patrick Duncan [appointed miss. in Cairnie in Feb., 1731], ord. 9 April, 1735. Died 25 Jan. 1760 [in his 60th year.]
14. James Crombie, ord. 11 Sep., 1760. Removed to Belfast in Ireland 1770. [D.D. St. Andrews Sep., 1783. Died 1 March, 1790, aged about 58.]
15. Thomas MacFarlane, ord. Sep. 5, 1771. [Died 12 Nov., 1781.]
[N.B.—This parish was united to St. Andrews in 1782.]

St. Andrews, a mensal Church, of old called *Kil-ma-Lemnuc*. The King is now patron. In time of Prelacy this Church and that of Ogston, on the other side of the Loch of Spynie, were committed to one vicar, that the Bishop might draw the more teinds. In the north end of the parish was the Chapel of Insh, and at Forrester's Seat stood the Church of *Kil-ma-Lemnuc*.

The stipend, by decret in 1722, is four chalders of bear and 400 merks, with 50 merks for Communion Elements. The salary of the school is legal. Mortifications are 200 merks by Innes of Darkland, and 100 merks by George Russel in Linkwood. Catechisable persons are 500.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. Alexander Lesly, exhorter [at Candlemas] in 1567.
2. [Thomas Dunbar 1614. Cont. in 1616.]
3. John Peters, min. in 1627. Deposed in 1639 for refusing [to subscribe] the Covenant.
4. Robt. Tarras, ord. 3 Sep., 1640. Died in Aug., 1646 [aged about 37.]
5. Robert Innes, from Spynie, adm. 29 Oct., 1646. Died in May, 1663 [aged about 54.]
6. Thomas Craig [schoolmaster of Dyke], ord. 4 Nov., 1663. Demitted in 1690 [for Non-jurancy. So late as 4 Jan., 1704, he retained the two silver cups, the baptismal basin, and mortcloth. Died before 1719.]
7. Gavin Wedderspoon [Wotherspoon, chaplain to the Laird of Castle Stewart], ord. in 1690. Died 26 March, 1715.
8. John Urquhart, from Gartlie, adm. 12 Nov., 1717. Died 23 June, 1725 [aged 52.]
9. Alexander Irvine [chaplain in the family of Inches] ord. 1 March, 1726. Trans. to Aldern 1730 [22 Dec.]
10. John Patterson, from Dipple, adm. 23 Nov., 1731. [Died 20 April, 1778, in his 81st year. He had three sons, two of whom were Ministers—Alexander at Rothes, Robert at Spynie, and Alex.]
11. [William Leslie, of Belnageith, trans. from Auchindoir. Adm. 15 July, 1779. Died 18 April, 1839, in his 92nd year.]
12. John Walker. 1839.
13. Charles A. Davidson. 1863.

Birnie, a parsonage whereof the Earl of Moray is patron. [Before the Reformation it was a common Kirk, belonging to the chaplains of the Cathedral.] The stipend, by decreet in 1774, is 18 bolls 2 pecks $3\frac{1}{2}$ lippies of bear; 20 bolls 1 fir-lot 3 pecks 1 lippy oatmeal at 8 stone per boll; and £502 2s. 8d. Scots. The school is scarcely legal. John Innes of Darkland mortified 200 merks for the poor. There were likewise given to the poor of this parish, by a private hand, £30 sterling a few years ago.

Catechisable persons are 420.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. James Johnston, exhorter in 1568 [1567.]
2. Alexander Innes [trans. from Essil], min. in 1589. [He was tried before the Justiciary Court for being airt and pairt in the slaughter of Agnes Leslie, relict of the Provost of Elgin, and for his nocth compeirance put to the horn, &c., 21 June, 1608.]
3. [George Douglas, reader, pres. by James VI. 24 July, 1598.
Vide *Llanbryde* and *Dallas*.]
4. William Dunbar, 1599.]
5. Colin MacKenzie, deposed in 1624 [April, 1625] for immorality [for fornication.]
6. Alexander Spense, ord. 1626 [bet. 24 Oct., 1626, and 30 Oct., 1627.] Died 15 April, 1658 [aged about 55.]
7. Alexander Dunbar [son of the Sheriff of Moray], ord. 22 June, 1659. Trans. to Essil 1663.
8. William Saunders, ord. 4 Nov., 1663. Died 13 May, 1670 [aged about 40.]
9. John Cummine, ord. 13 Dec., 1670. Ejected [by the Privy Council] 1690, and became a Papist in Ireland.
10. John MacEan [M'Kean], ord. 1696. Died in June, 1704. [Said to have hanged himself.]
11. Thomas MacCulloch, ord. 1 July, 1708. Trans. to Bellie 1709 [26 April.]
12. William Dougal, ord. 1 Feb., 1710. Trans. to Spynie 1721 [14 Feb.]
13. David Dunlop [assist. to the Rev. Alex. Anderson of Duffus], ord. 10 Sep., 1721. Died 29 May, 1742.
14. Alexander Moray [son of the Rev. James M. of Grange], ord. 28 April, 1743. Died Aug. 13, 1765 [aged 64.]
15. Joseph Anderson [schoolmaster of Alves], ord. 18 March, 1766. [Died 2 June, 1808.]
16. [David Baxter, native of Leslie, Fife, ord. 27 July, 1809. Trans. to Lilliesleap 19 Sep., 1816.]
17. James Paterson, ord. 26 Jan., 1808, as assist. to the above Mr. Anderson. Adm. 19 Dec., 1816. Demitted 26 Oct., 1832. Died 23 Feb., 1840, in his 61st year.
18. George Gordon, LL.D., son of the Rev. Wm. G. of Urquhart, ord. 13 Dec., 1832. Adm. 19 Nov., 1859.

Elgin, a parsonage dedicated to St. Giles, was the Bishop's pastoral charge. I find not two Ministers in Elgin before the year 1613, after which time the second Minister was the Bishop's Vicar. In 1642 King Charles I. granted the patronage to the Magistrates and common Coun-

cil. This was ratified in Parliament 1645, and in that year Messrs. Murdoch MacKenzie and Thomas Law were presented by the Town Council. But by the Act Recissory, in 1661, and the re-establishing Prelacy in 1662, the gift in favour of the town became void, and the King is patron.

The stipend, by decree in 1714, is modified to 104 bolls bear, and £450 Scots to each Minister, but falleth short in the locality near a boll and £3 to each. The vicarage of Pluscarden, converted at £100, is allowed for Communion Elements. There is but one glebe and no manse; but there is ground where the manse stood, and a garden adjacent to it. The lands of Easter Kelles were, in 1657, annexed to Dallas by the Presbytery, and received the Civil sanction; but attempts to disjoin Pluscarden and Blackhills became ineffectual, because not ratified in law.

At Langmorn, or *Lhan-Morgan*, i.e. "Morgan's Church," was a free chapel, which had its own Minister, probably till 1613, when a second Minister, or a Vicar, was settled in the parish.

At Inverlochtie was St. John Baptist's Chapel, and another at Bogside.

There is in the town a Grammar School, endowed by the community, and a school for teaching English and music, endowed by King James VI. out of the revenues of the Preceptory of Maison Dieu.

The Church of St. Giles, being an old vaulted

fabric, fell down in 1679, and was soon rebuilt in the modern way, as it now stands.

The mortifications for the poor are:—By Charles Gordon, late Bailie, 300 merks; by Alex. Dick, late Convener, 1000 merks; by Dykeside, 2000 merks; by James Cramond, late Bailie, 500 merks; By John Sanders, merchant, 150 merks; by Robert Gordon, merchant, 100 merks; by William Duff of Dipple, 1500 merks; by Mr. James Thomson, late Minister, 600 merks to buy Bibles for the poor; by Cummine of Pittulie, late Provost, 6037½ merks for four pensioners; to four beadmen, 16 bolls annually of the revenues of Maison Dieu; besides the rent of the Hospital Croft for gowns to them; by the Kirk Session, 350 merks; a considerable growing fund, established by the Guildry, for decayed Guild brethren; and particular funds by some Incorporations.

The Catechisable persons are above 4000.

The Protestant Ministers, besides the Bishops that were not Ministers of Elgin before their consecration are:—

1. [Robert Pent, removed from Dunkeld 1563.]
2. Alexander Winchester, min. in 1568. [Pres. by James VI. 26 Feb., 1567, which he demitted 27 Nov., 1569. In the General Assembly, Oct., 1578, a complaint was made that he had “left his flock, and now preacheth in Stirling;” but he continued in 1580.]
3. Thos. Robertson, reader in 1569.
4. William Douglass, vicar in 1579.
[Nos. 3 and 4 both omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
5. Alexander Douglas [trans. from Keith], ord. about 1582. [Adm.

- 1581.] Bishop in 1610. [Cons. 15 Mar., 1611.] Died 1623 [9 May.]
6. David Philp [trans. from 2nd charge in Dec., 1617], ord. in March, 1613. Died [11] Sep., 1632 [aged about 50.]
 7. John Gordon, from Kenedar, adm. 31 March, 1633. [D.D. about 21 Sep. 1635.] Deposed for immoralities 1639. [Excommunicated 19 Oct., 1648. Went with his family to England.]
 8. Gilbert Ross [trans. from Colmoneth], adm. 24 Sep., 1640. Died 13 Aug., 1644 [aged about 52. In company with Robert Innes, younger of that ilk, the Laird of Brodie, &c., he tore down, 28 Dec., 1640, the wooden partition wall or rood screen which divided the chancel from the nave or body of the Church, on the sides of which were carved the Day of Judgment, &c.]
 9. Murdoch MacKenzie, from Inverness, adm. 17 April, 1645. Bishop 1662. [Vide vol. iii. 344-346.]
 10. [James Atkine, D.D. 1677.]
 11. Colin Falconer 1680.
 12. Alexander Rose, D.D., 1687.
 13. William Hay, D.D., 1688.
- Nos. 10 to 13 all Bishops of Moray.]
14. Robert Langlands, from Barony of Glasgow, adm. 21 June, 1696. Died 12 August that year. [On hearing of his death, one of the Ministers of Glasgow prayed (*sic*) :—“Lord, what wilt thou do with us now? It seems thou art resolved to flit from among us, when thou art packing up some of thy best plenishin’!”]
 15. Alexander King, from Bonhill, adm. 27 April, 1701. Died 22 Dec., 1715 [in his 63rd year.]
 16. Charles Primrose from Forres, adm. 7 May, 1717. Trans. to Crichton 1729.
 17. James Winchester, from Aldern, adm. 5 May, 1730. Trans. to Jedburgh 1737 [10 April, 1734.]
 18. Alexander Irvine, from Aldern, adm. 12 Aug., 1735. Died 22 Dec. 1758 [in his 63rd year.]
 19. David Rintoul, from [2nd charge] Kirkcaldy, adm. 28 Sep., 1759. [Died 26 Oct., 1778, in his 64th year.]
 20. [James Hay, D.D., trans. from Dyce, adm. 8 July, 1779. Died 22 Jan. 1784, in his 48th year.]
 21. William Gordon, ord. 30 July, 1776, as miss. at Enzie, adm. 26 Aug., 1784. Died 19 Sep., 1837, in his 86th year.
 22. Alexander Topp, born at Elgin, ord. 25 Jan., 1838. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption. Became min. of Roxburgh Free Church, Edinburgh, in 1852; of Knox’s Church, Toronto, in 1858. D.D., Aberdeen, in March, 1870.
 23. Philip Jervis Mackie 1843.

Second or Collegiate Charge.

1. William Coggie 1607. Trans. to Inveravon prior to 1608.
2. David Philip, ord. before 25 March, 1613. Prom. to 1st charge in Dec., 1617.

3. Thomas Law, trans. from Boharm, adm. 28 Aug., 1645. Died 1 Sep., 1657, aged about 52.
4. James Horne, trans. from Bellie, adm. 28 July, 1659. Demitted on account of the test in 1682.
5. Alexander Tod, trans. from Llanbryde, adm. 11 July, 1682. Deprived by the Privy Council 10 Oct., 1689.
6. James Thomson, of Newton, Collessie, trans. from Colinton, adm. 21 June, 1696. Died 1 June, 1726.
7. Joseph Sanderson, trans. from Alves, adm. 2 May, 1727. Died 15 July, 1733.
8. Lachlan Shaw, trans. from Cawdor, adm. 9 May, 1734. Demitted 5 April, 1774. Died 23 Feb., 1777, in his 85th year.
9. William Peterkin, assistant and successor to the former, ord. 14 July, 1774. Died 8 Jan., 1788. He was the first Inct. who read his sermons in the pulpit.
10. John Grant, trans. from Boharm, adm. 14 Oct., 1788. Died 22 Oct., 1814, in his 84th year.
11. Lewis Gordon, D.D., trans. from Drainie, adm. 5 Sep., 1815. Died at Burghead 29 June, 1824, in his 76th year.
12. Alexander Walker, trans. from Urquhart, adm. 6 June, 1825. Re-translated to Urquhart 4 Aug., 1841. Died 28 Jan., 1847, aged about 69.
13. Francis Wylie, D.D. 1842.
14. Robert T. Macpherson, trans. from Newton-on-Ayr, 1881.

Little Church, or Chapel of Ease had been built on the end of the Parish Church for the week-day services of the town's people on the abolition of Episcopacy, and was again opened in 1774. A large and new Chapel was proposed 8 May, 1788, to be erected, which was declared to be unnecessary.

1. Donald Mitchell, son of John Mitchell, tailor, Cromarty, ord. 16 June, 1778, as assistant to the Rev. David Rintoul. Trans. to Ardclach in 1781.
2. Alexander Macadam, schoolmaster at Cromarty, called 18 June, 1781. Trans. to the Gaelic Church, Cromarty, in 1782.
3. Ronald Bayne, formerly of the Gaelic Chapel, Aberdeen, 1798. Trans. to Chapel of Ease in Inverness.

ST. GILES', ELGIN.

1. John Innes, prebendary, 1546.
2. Alexander Hepburn, 1547.
3. Alexander Chrystie, 1562.
4. George Hepburn, 1566.
5. William Douglas, 1567-1571.

FREE CHURCH.

Elgin (High).

1. Robert J. Watt, born in Ireland. Was for some time minister of the Original Secession Church in Stranraer, was admitted into the Free Church in 1852, and inducted at Elgin in 1852. Died 1862.
2. Archibald Smellie, born in Orkney; educ. at Edinburgh Univ. Trans. from Orkney to Banff Free Church, thence to Elgin in 1863, and thence to Roxburgh Free Church, Edinburgh, in 1868.
3. Simeon R. Macphail, born in Forres; M.A. Aberdeen. Ord. minister of Forfar East Free Church in 1866, trans. to Elgin in 1869, thence to Glasgow in 1878, and thence to Liverpool in 1880.
4. Robert Cowan, born in Blairgowrie; educ. at Edinburgh Univ. Ord. in 1859 as colleague minister of Free St. Leonard's, and thence trans. to Elgin in 1870.

Elgin (South).

1. George Shepherd, born in Banffshire; educ. at Aberdeen. Was parish min. of Kingussie till 1843, when he joined the Free Church; was trans. from Kingussie to Elgin South in 1852, being the first minister of that charge. Died in 1853.
2. D. Campbell Gordon, born in Edinburgh; M.A., Edinburgh. Ord. to Elgin South in 1853. Died in 1866.
3. William Trail, born in Aberdeen; M.A. Aberdeen. Ord. in 1843 over Skene Free Church, and trans. successively to North Shields, Manchester, Inverness, and Glasgow, and to Elgin South in 1867. Died in 1874.
4. William A. Gray, born in Inverurie; educ. at Aberdeen. Ord. over Logiealmond Free Church in 1869, and trans. to Elgin (South) 1874.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

South Street Congregation.

First church built in 1754, second in 1807, third in 1864, with 500 sittings, cost £1300.

1. Alexander Troup, ord. 1748. Trans. 1763. The congregation called Mr. Gray, app. by the Synod of Brechin, and Mr. Young, who was deposed for improper conduct while under call.
2. Thomas Duncan, from Kinclaven, ord. 18 July, 1770. Died 5 July, 1818, æt. 70.
3. Robert Crawford, previously of Auchinleck, adm. as colleague 1817. Died 25 March, 1828, æt. 53.
4. John Pringle, from Tranent, ord. 16 July, 1829. Translator of Calvin's Works on 1st and 2nd Cor., Philipp., Coloss. and Thess., 3 vols. Died 30 Dec. 1879, æt. 77.
5. Robert Smillie, 1881.

Moss Street Congregation.

Built in 1858 with 750 sittings, cost £2400; new church on the site of the old one, 878 sittings.

1. Simon Somerville, previously of Carnoustie, adm. 17 April, 1805.
Died 11 Oct., 1839, æt. 72.
2. Adam Lind, from Craigdam, called to Comrie, Burntisland, and Elgin. Ord. as colleague here 27 July, 1836. Author of Sermons on "Robbery of God," and "True Prosperity;" editor of Sermons by Andrew Ross; author of Memoir of the Rev. A. Lind, Whitehill, and of several Papers in the U.P. Magazine.

TRINITY (EPISCOPAL) CHAPEL—1825.

After "The Revolution."

1. John Gordon, 1721—1740 or longer.
2. Francis Chalmers, 1765.
3. William Allardyce, 1780.
4. Hugh Buchan, 1781. Died 1829. (Memorial window in Church.)
5. Robert Bruce Boswell, of the family of Balmuto, from 1829 to 1831. Obtained an Indian Chaplaincy. "Low Church."
6. William Graham Cole, 1831 to 1838. Removed to England. "Low."
7. William Charles Augustus Maclaurin, 1838 to 1850, formerly an Independent preacher. Dean of the diocese. *M.* (1) Helen Milne; (2) Harriet Stuart. Joined the R.C. Church. Published a small book on the Episcopate, and a like vol. of poems.
8. Robert Eden, D.D., the present Primus, 1850 to 1853.
9. John Ferguson, native of Aberdeenshire, 1853.

Kinedar, a parsonage, the seat of the Treasurer. In 1753, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston purchased the patronage from John Innes of Leuchars. "June 14th, 1666, the Bishop and Chapter, with Sir Robt. Gordon of Gordonston, and Alex. Brodie of Brodie, heritors, ratified and approved the disjunction of Ugston, made in 1642, from St. Andrews and the annexation of it to Kinedar, without prejudice to the Bishop as Titular of St. Andrews and Ogston; and that 118 merks be paid annually out of Ogston to the Minister of St. Andrews; and because this will diminish the stipend of Kinedar, therefore Gordonston will

make up to him these 118 merks." (*Presb. Rec.*) The Church, formerly at Kinedar, was, about 1666, built in the centre of the united parishes, at Drainie, and the Church is now called the "Church of Drainie," but the glebe and manse are at Kinedar, an English mile from the Church at Drainie. [The date on the belfry of the Church of Drainie is 1675.]

The stipend, by decree in 1774, is £600 Scots, 2 chalders bear, 40 bolls oats, and £30 for Communion Elements. The salary of the school is 12 bolls. [New Kirk built in 1823.] Catechisable persons are 1000.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. William Wyseman, reader at Lammas, 1569.
2. William Clerk, exhorter [at Belton] in 1572.
3. [Patrick Douglas, having also Essil, 1574. Demitted prior to 26 April, 1583.]
4. William Douglas [son of W. D. of Quhittingham], min. in 1583, 1596 and 1603.
5. Alexander Innes, min. in 1624. [Demitted and was adm. to Inver-
avon 1624.]
6. John Gordon [trans. from Kirkmichaell in 1625], adm. before 25 Oct.] Trans. to Elgin 1633.
7. David Colless [Collace], from Ugston, adm. 1634 [before 1 Oct., 1633.] Died about 1681 [3 June].
8. Michael Cummine [Cumming] ord. [at Ogston, helper and conjunct] with the survivance, 7 March, 1666. Died about 1696 [29 Feb., 1698, aged 58.]
9. Hugh Anderson, from Rosemarkie, adm. 17 Aug., 1698. Resigned [2 Dec.] 1740. Died 1749 [after 17 Oct., aged about 85.]
10. William Collie [schoolmaster of the parish, 11 July, 1732], ord. 17 March, 1741. Died April 29, 1768, aged about 70.]
11. Lewis Gordon, ord. 28 Sep., 1768. [D.D. Aberdeen, 17 Feb., 1815. Moderator of the General Assembly 18 May, 1815. Trans. to Elgin 14 Aug., 1815. Vide Elgin.]
12. Richard Rose, trans. from Dallas, adm. 25 July, 1816. D.D. St. Andrews 3 Dec., 1831. Died 23 June, 1853, in his 85th year.
13. James Weir 1846.

Ugston [Ogston], a mensal Church dedicated to St. Peter. It is now annexed to the parish of Kinedar, as above [17 Feb., 1669.], and Gordonston acts as patron ; but how far the King claims a vice-patronage I shall not determine.

The Protestant Ministers were :—

1. James Ker, exhorter in 1569.
2. William Roch, min. in 1594. Trans. to Essil in 1601.
3. David Colless, min. in 1625. Trans. to Kenedar about 1634. [Ignored in Scott's *Fasti*.]
4. [Gilbert Marshall 1625, trans. to Knockando prior to 28 April, 1634.]
5. Robert Innes, about 1634. Trans. to Spynie 1640, and had no successor.
6. George Douglas presented, but died prior to 11 Jan., 1642.

Duffus, a parsonage dedicated to St. Peter,* the patronage whereof was once tripartite, betwixt the King, Marshal, and Duffus. The presentation to Alexander Symer, 10th August, 1642, runs thus :—" Be it kend, me James Sutherland, tutor of Duffus, heretale proprietor of one third of the Baronie of Duffus, as undoubted patron of the third vice of the Kirk of Duffus, sometime belonging to William, Earl of Marshal, and disponed by him to me ; to have presented, &c." In 1738, Archibald Dunbar of Newtoun *contra* Duke of Gordon, obtained a Declarator of the whole patronage, and is now Patron and Titular.

* Foundation of the Chapel of the B.V.M., at the Castle of Duffus, in 1203-22. Bp. Andrew institutes Master Henry into the Vicarage of St. Peter's, Duffus, 1238, upon the presentation of Hugh and Hugo of Duffus. Presentation of Mr. Robert to the Chaplaincy of Duffus by Reginald le Chien, 1296.

There was produced to the Presbytery of Elgin, 14th Oct., 1736, for the Duke of Gordon, an extract of an Act of Parliament 1621, ratifying the grant of the patronage of the Church of Duffus and Chapel of Unthank made to Lord Spynie, anno 1593; also charter by King Charles II. as *Ultimus Hæres* to Lord Spynie, of the said patronage, in favour of James, Earl of Airly, anno 1674, which right Lord Airly assigned to George Marquis of Huntly, anno 1682. But the said Archibald Dunbar produced in process a charter to his authors anno 1527, and another anno 1588.

There was in this parish a Free Chapel called Unthank, which had its own Minister and stipend. I know not whence this Chapel is called Unthank, if it be not from the Irish [Erse] word *Intach*. The country people, who best retain the ancient orthography and pronunciation, always call it *Intach*, i.e. "Lonely or Solitary." The situation of it favours this etymology, and the monks, who understood not [?] the Irish [Erse], gave it a name of a similar sound. Here and at Ross Isle, near to it, there was a college of monks, and probably the chaplain of Unthank was Provost of the College. Unthank was a Free Chapel, and had lands independent of the parsonage of Duffus; and when after the Reformation such Chapels were annexed to the Crown, this probably gave rise to the tripartite division of Duffus into the King's part, Duffus's part, and

Marshal's part, and to the Duke of Gordon's claim of at least a vice-patronage of Duffus.

There was likewise a Chapel of Ease in the Burgh.

The stipend, by decreet, is 8 chalders of bear, 350 merks, and 60 merks for Communion Elements. The salary of the school is but 7 bolls 2 firlots 3 pecks 2 lippies of bear. The Examinable persons are 1200.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. William Clerk, reader in 1560. [Omitted in Dr. Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
2. John Keith [having Kenedar also in charge], min. in [1567] 1570, 1574, 1579. [Cont. in 1607.]
3. John Gibson, parson of Unthank, and prebendary, 1570. [Omitted in Dr. Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
4. Alexander Keith, min. in 1586. Died about 1609.
5. Patrick Dunbar, min. in 1612 [1608.] Died about 1632 [1629, aged about 49.]
6. John Guthrie [trans. from Keith] ord. in 1633 [? adm. 1630.] Deposed 1640 [by a Sub-Synod 21 Jan., 1641] for refusing the Covenant. [Preached a penitential sermon at Duffus 24 Feb., 1642, and was allowed to preach again.]
7. Alex. Symer [Somer, son of the Rev. George S. of Meigle], ord. 10 Jan., 1643. Died in 1686 [30 Oct., aged about 74.]
8. Adam Sutherland [trans. from New Machar], ord. Feb., 1687. Died about 1698 [before 5 Nov., 1695.]
9. Alex. Anderson [son of the Rev. Hugh A. of Udol, min. of Cromarty], ord. about 1700. Died in March, 1721. [M.D. Aberdeen, 10 Nov., 1719.]
10. [John Chalmers, min. of Campvere, pres. by Arch. Dunbar of Thunderton in Sep., 1721, but he cont. in his charge.]
11. James Dunbar, ord. 31 March, 1724. Died 26 June, 1736.
12. John Bower, ord. 15 Sep., 1737. Died 6 Feb., 1748.
13. Alex. Moray [Murray] ord. 28 Sep., 1748. [Died 31 July, 1780.]
14. [John Reid, ord. 13 Aug., 1776, as assistant to the Rev. John Paterson of St. Andrews. Adm. assistant and successor 8 Oct., 1778. Died 9 Jan., 1803, in his 60th year.]
15. John Gordon, trans. from Strathdon. Adm. 22 Sep., 1803. Died 8 March, 1827, in his 69th year.
16. Alexander Brander, son of A. B. of Springfield, banker, Elgin, ord. 28 Feb., 1828. D.D., Aberdeen, 5 Oct., 1855.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

Burghead.

1. David Carmichael, from Perth (North), called to Banff and Burghead. Ord. 29 Aug., 1825, dep. 25 Sept., 1827. Returned to Perth and lived privately there.
2. Robert Scott, from Stow, ord. 22 April, 1828. Died 14 Dec., 1828.
3. John Robertson, A.M., from Craigdam, of which his father was minister, ord. 23 May, 1832. Resigned 13 Aug., 1834. Adm. to Wallsend, Presbytery of Newcastle, 1837.
(The congregation called Mr. Barne, who preferred Carnwath.)
4. Alexander Tillie, from Earlston, ord. 14 Oct., 1835, resigned 20 Oct., 1852. Removed to Elgin, and lived there privately till his death, 22 Aug., 1853, æt. 58.
5. James Muckersie Erskine, from Alloa (First). Called to New Deer and Burghead, ord. 30 March, 1854. Trans. to Bow, London, 5 June, 1872.

New Spynie, a parsonage dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The Laird of Innes claims the patronage. A Sub-synod in Forres, June, 1640, appointed Mr. Joseph Brodie, to deal with the Laird of Innes, to present some able man to the Kirk of Spynie (*Syn. Rec.*); and in September that year, he presented Mr. Robert Innes. Likewise, in 1647, Sir Robert Innes presented Mr. William Coggie (*Presb. Rec.*). The Church was transplanted from Spynie, the very extremity of the parish, and built at Quarrywood anno 1735; but the glebe and the buryingplace are at Spynie.

There was a Chapel of Ease at Inchbrok.

The stipend, by decree in 1730, is 64 bolls of bear, £300, and £60 for Communion Elements. The school salary is not legal.

Mary Bannerman, Lady Finrossie, mortified 1000 merks for the poor, and they have a share of Dipple's mortification to Elgin.

The Catechisable persons are 700.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. James Philip, exhorter 1570.
2. [Andrew Young, adm. about 1574, having also Keith. He was a contemp. student with John Knox at St. Andrews in 1571.]
3. Alex. Ralphson, min. in 1579, and in 1603. [Died prior to 4 June, 1622. He had a gift of the chaplainry of “*The Rude, callit Ard-Arle and St. Columba*,” in Elgin Cathedral.]
4. Mr. Alex. Watson, Min. in 1614. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
5. Thomas Craig, min. in 1624, died in 1639. [Aged about 56.]
6. Robert Innes from Ugston, adm. 28 Sep., 1640. Trans. to St. Andrews, 1646. [15 Oct.]
7. William Coggie (Vide Inverness), adm. 21 Jan., 1647, died Dec., 1659. [28 Dec., aged about 77.]
8. Samuel Tulloch, ord. 27 June, 1660, died in Nov., 1706. [22 Oct., in his 75th year.]
9. Robert Bates, ord. 16 Sep., 1707, died in Oct., 1719.
10. [Wm. Innes, pres. by Sir Harry Innes, but the Synod refused. At Pitsligo, as assist in Sep., 1720.]
11. William Dougal, from Birnie, adm. 7 March, 1721, died 12 Oct., 1766. [In his 83rd year.]
12. Robert Patterson [son of the Rev. John P. of St. Andrews], ord. privately [as assist. to the Rev. Wm. Collie of Drainie, Dec., 1765], adm. June 18, 1767. [Died 31 July, 1790, in his 56th year.]
- N.B.—This last had a joint presentation from the Duke of Gordon, and Sir James Innes, *Salvo Jure*.
13. [Alexander Brown, preacher at Fochabers, ord. 12 Sep., 1793, died 8 Jan., 1814, in his 51st year.]
14. George M'Hardy, son of John M'H. Aboyne, schoolmaster at Bellie, adm. 22 Sep., 1814. Died 15 Sep., 1817, aged 42.
15. Thomas Cannan, native of Galloway, ord. 17 Sep., 1818, trans. to Carsphairn, 11 Aug., 1826.
16. Alexander Simpson, ord. 2 Nov., 1826, died at Covesea, 7 Jan., 1852, in his 65th year.
17. John Kyd, Ph.D. 1852.

Alves, a parsonage, the seat of the Chantor. The Earl of Moray is patron. (Vide *Lanbride* and *Kinloss*.) [The parish was in the Presbytery of Forres from 1593 to 1608, but disjoined and annexed to that of Elgin prior to 30 Sep., 1623.] The stipend, by decree in 1712, is 80 bolls of

bear; £300, with 50 merks for Communion Elements. [New Kirk built in 1769, sittings 590.] The salary of the school, is 8 bolls of bear, and £33 6s. 8d. Scots. George Duncan, late merchant in Inverness, mortified £2000 for educating boys at this school. Catechisable persons are 1300.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. Mr. Patrick Balfour, min. 1567. [App. in Nov., having also Llanbryde.]
2. Alex. Bad, exhorter in 1570.
3. James Muirton, min. in 1574.
[The above omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
4. [Patrick Auchinleck, min. to the Regent Morton's House. Pres. by James VI. 8 Jan., 1577, died at Elgin, 5 April, 1581.]
5. James Dundas, pres. by James VI. 30 May, 1582. He was promoted to the Bishopric of Down and Connor 10 June, 1612, died at Newton, County Down, before 29 Oct., 1612.]
6. Gavin Dunbar, min. in 1613 [1612. Trans. from Llanbryde.] Died in June, 1640. [Aged about 58. Demitted the Archdeaconry of Moray in 1613, in favour of Mr. Patrick Tulloch.]
7. George Hannay [formerly of Torphichen], ord. 12 Nov., 1640, depos. 1640 for opposing the Covenant. [Reposed 23 May, 1649. Sought to be helper at Bellie, 3 Nov., 1653.]
8. William Campbell, from Bower, adm. 16 Aug., 1649, trans. to Oldrick, 1660. [6 Sep.]
9. Alex. Stuart, ord. 16 Oct., 1661, died [27] Oct., 1675. [Aged about 50.]
10. Beroald Innes [schoolmaster at Bellie 13 July, 1664], ord. 2 March, 1676, ejected [by Privy Council] 1690. [He married at Forres 15 Aug., 1678, Jean, daughter of Colin, Bishop of Moray. Beroald Innes is said to have been the son of John Innes of Culdrain, and brother of Sir Alexander Innes, the 2nd Baronet of Coxton. He had 3 sons and 2 daughters. He owned the lands of Inchstellie, in Alves, and died the 27 March, 1722. There is a monument to his memory on the wall of the Choir of the old Church of Alves.]
11. John Gilchrist, from [2nd charge south] Leith, adm. [16 May], 1697, trans. to Keith in 1700.
12. Joseph Sanderson, ord. 2 Feb., 1703, trans. to Elgin in 1727.
13. George Gordon, from Boharm, adm. 21 Nov., 1728, died 3 March, 1752. [In his 60th year.]
14. Alex. Watt, ord. 13 March, 1753, trans. to Forres 1774. [1 Feb.]

15. [James Munro, trans. from Kinloss, adm. 10 Aug., 1775, died 24 June, 1780, aged 56.]
16. William Smith, schoolmaster of Strichen, ord. 22 March, 1781, died 26th Jan., 1792, in his 46th year.
17. William M'Bean, trans. from Moy and Dalarossie, adm. 11 Oct., 1792, died 5 April, 1818, in his 59th year.
18. Walter Stuart, pres. in 1818 but died, without being settled, 22 April, 1819.
19. Duncan Grant, nephew to the above Mr. M'B., promoted from the Gaelic Chapel, Aberdeen, and adm. 15 July, 1819, trans. to Forres, 20 Sep., 1827.
20. Alexander Gentle, son of James G., Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, ord. 7 Feb., 1828, died 25 March, 1869, aged 71.
21. Alexander Coul. 1843.
22. James M'Kie, LL.D. 1850.

FREE CHURCH.

Duncan Colvin, born at Dyke, M.A. of King's College, Aberdeen.

PRESBYTERY OF FORRES.

Kinloss parish was erected by the joint care of the Presbyteries of Elgin and Forres. The erection was approved by the Synod of Moray, in October, 1657, and ratified in Parliament anno 1661. The new parish, excepting a small part, being taken out of the parish of Alves, the Earl of Moray, as patron of the Mother Church, is patron of Kinloss. From the Reformation downward, divine worship was kept in the Abbey Church of Kinloss, and the Presbytery claimed the precinct, Church, and churchyard. But Alexander Brodie of Lethen, who purchased the Abbey lands from the Lord Kinloss, had sold the stones of the Abbey to the English, for building the citadel at Inverness, in 1651 and 1652, and agreed with the Presbytery, that he should pay £100 sterling for building the Church, and give one half of the

glebe, both which he performed; and Sir John M'Kenzie of Tarbet, and Muirton gave George's Yard, for the other half of the glebe (*Presbytery Rec. of Forres*).

The stipend, by a decree in 1730, is 56 bolls of bear, and, including Communion Elements, £396. [New Kirk built in 1765.]

The salary of the school is legal.

Examinable persons are about 1000.

Mr. James Urquhart was the first minister, and was deposed 19th May, 1663, for not conforming to Prelacy. He was reponed by Act of Parliament 1690, and returned to his charge; but was so ill treated, that he demitted anno 1695, and lived with his son in Urquhart, where he died 16th April, 1701.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. Mr. James Urquhart, ord. 19 Aug., 1659, deposed by Murdoch M'Kenzie, Bishop of Moray, for non-conformity] in 1663. [Imprisoned in Blackness in 1685.]
2. Alex. Dunbar, from Kemnay [resided at Darnaway], adm. 19 Oct., 1665, died 14 March, 1669. [Aged about 39.]
3. George Innes, from Premnay, adm. 16 June, 1670, elected in 1690 [25 April, by Act of Parliament.]
4. James Urquhart [above mentioned], restored in 1690, demitted in 1695. [Trans. to Urquhart.]
5. James Gordon, ord. 5 [19] Sep., 1699, died 10 Dec., 1750.
6. James Munro, ord. 14 May, 1752. [Trans. to Alves 25 April, 1775.]
7. [James Gillan, ord. 17 March, 1778, trans. to Speymouth 13 Sep., 1785.
8. John Hoyes, trans. from Dalgety, adm. 27 July, 1786, died 23 Jan., 1818, in his 74th year.
9. William Robertson, trans. from Laggan, adm. 10 Sep., 1818. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption, died 13 Nov., 1860.
10. Thomas Stephen. 1843.

FREE CHURCH.

1. James Finlay M'Ara, born at Crieff ; educ. at Monzie Parish School, Edinburgh University, and New College. Ord. 28 Feb., 1856. M. 1856. Died 19 June, 1879.
2. John Macpherson, born at Greenock ; educ. at Glasgow University and Free Church College; M.A. in 1873. Ord. 28 Nov., 1878.

Rafford, a parsonage, the seat of the Sub-chantor. Alexander Brodie of Lethen is patron. A small part of the parish was cast into the new erected parish of Kinloss; and the parish of Altyre, formerly annexed to Dallas, was made a part of Rafford parish, and the disjunction and annexation was ratified in Parliament, anno 1661.

The stipend, by decree in 1752, is 76 bolls 3 firlots bear, and £349 13s. 4d., whereof 100 merks for Communion Elements. [New Kirk built in 1826.] The salary of the school is legal. Catechisable persons are about 1200.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. James Rawson, reader in Rafford and Kinloss. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
2. Alex. Urquhart, min. in Rafford and Kinloss 1568. [1567.]
3. Alex. Dunbar, min. and sub-chantor 1582.
4. Robert Dunbar, min. 1597 and 1614. [Adm. before Aug. 1590, cont. in 1596.]
5. [John Straitoun, 1598, trans. to Forres this or next year.]
6. Thomas Forbes, 1601, cont. in 1616.]
7. John Hay, min. in 1624 [adm. after 13 April], trans. to Fraserburgh 1643.
8. William Fullerton, ord. 2 April, 1644, died in Feb., 1668. [Aged about 60.]
9. Alex. Fordyce, ord. 8 July [adm. 15 July], 1668, died in Sep., 1715 [aged about 73].
10. James Winchester, ord. 19 April, 1716, trans. to Aldern 1726 [20 April].

11. William Porteous [a relation of Beilby Porteous, Bishop of London], ord. 28 Dec., 1727, died 3 Jan., 1738.
12. Robert Logan [son of Bailie L. Dyer, Forres], ord. 14 Sep., 1738, died 16 Aug., 1752.
13. Duncan Shaw [son of the author of this book], ord. 10 May, 1753 [D.D., abdic. 1 Sep., 1777, trans. to Aberdeen, 16 Oct., 1783].
14. [William Stephen, a native of New Machar, ord. 9 Sep., 1784, died 9 Sep., 1815, in his 69th year.]
15. George Mackay, son of the Rev. David M. of Reay, ord. 2 May, 1816. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption, D.D., abdic. 2 April, 1850, died 19 Jan., 1862, in his 71st year.
16. Hugh M'Intosh. 1843.
17. Robert Smith. 1864.

FREE CHURCH.

1. David Norris Mackay, born at Rafford; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh University, M.A. in 1836. Ord. to Lossiemouth in 1844. Trans. from Castleton and Inch to Rafford, 19 July, 1860. M. 19 Dec., 1861. Died 26 Jan., 1875.
2. John Baird, born at Edinburgh; educ. at Edinburgh University, and New College. Ord. 6 Jan., 1876.

Dallas, a parsonage, dedicated to St. Michael, and the seat of the Sub-dean. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, is patron. Upon the annexation of Altyre to Rafford, Easter Kelless was annexed to Dallas, anno 1657; and about 1651, 200 merks of the Vicarage of Aldern was made, and continues to be a part of the stipend of Dallas. The stipend, now by decree 17 , including Communion Elements, is £700 Scots. [New Kirk built in 1794.] There is no legal school. The Catechisable persons are about 500.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. William Thomson, reader in Dallas 1567.
2. John Clark, reader in Altyre and Dallas 1569.
3. William Patterson, min. and sub-dean 1574.

[Nos. 2 and 3 ignored by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti. Ecc. Scot.*]

4. [Patrick Cumyng, pres. to the parsonage of Dallas and vicarage of Alderne, by James VI. in 1576, demitted prior to 1 Feb., 1586.]
5. George Douglas, reader, 1588. Vide Lhanbryde and Birnie.]
6. Alex. Richardson [having Altyre also], min. in 1601 and 1617.
7. George Cumming, ord. [before 4 April] about 1624. [The only min. in the Presbytery who refused to sign the Covenant, 28 April, 1638.] Died [before 3 May] in summer 1648 [aged about 49].
8. James Strachan, ord. in winter [before 2 Oct.] 1649, died [10] Oct., 1671 [aged about 52].
9. Alex. Cumming, ord. 6 June, 1672, demitted in 1681 for the Test [died 24 May *idem*.]
10. George Dunbar [schoolmaster of Auldearn], ord. 13 Oct., 1681 [1682], trans. to Nairn 1687.
11. Thomas Urquhart [son of John U. Laird of Burrisyards], privately ord.; was admitted 11 Jan., 1688, died about 1706.
12. John Crockat, ord. 13 May, 1708, died 21 April, 1748.
13. Robert Dalrymple [son of the Rev. David D. of Dundurcos], ord. 23 Feb., 1749, deposed [for fornication], 28 April, 1763. [Reponed 29 May, 1776, died 20 March, 1778.]
14. James Hay, ord. Sep. 27, 1763. [Died 19 Oct., 1777.]
15. [David Milne, son of the Rev. Wm. M. of Kildrummy, ord. 7 July, 1778, trans. to Edenkillie, 3 June, 1793.]
16. Richard Rose, a native of Nairn, schoolmaster at Cromarty, ord. 1 May, 1774, trans. to Drainie 9 July, 1816.
17. Francis William Grant, ord. 26 Sep., 1816, pres. to Dipple and Moy 22 Aug., 1820, but preferred to remain, and was trans. to Banff 27 Nov., 1821.
18. William Tulloch, son of Hugh T., Cromarty, schoolmaster at Nigg, ord. 11 April, 1822, died 23 Nov., 1845, aged 70.
19. John Macdonald. 1846.

FREE CHURCH.

William Davidson, born at Rafford; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen, M.A. in 1838. Ord. 8 Aug., 1844. M. 11 Sept., 1861.

Forres, a parsonage, dedicated to St. Laurence, and the seat of the Arch-deacon. The Earl of Moray is patron. There was a Chapel about a mile above the town, and another at Loggie (Vide *Edenkylie*). The stipend, by decree in 1754, is 98 bolls of bear, 29 bolls oatmeal, £410, and £80 Scots for Communion Elements. [New Kirk built in 1775.] The salary of the school is legal. Examinable persons are 1600.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. David Rae, min. in 1653.
2. John Patterson, reader in 1567. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
3. Andrew Simpson, min. of Forres and Altyre 1568 [1567. In 1574 he had also Dyke and Moy. Died prior to 26 Aug., 1585].
4. Gavin Dunbar, min. in 1574 and 1579. [Omitted by Dr. H. Scott.]
5. John Forrester, min. in 1590 [1585, cont. in 1597].
6. [John Stratoun, trans. from Rafford, having Edenkeily, Rafford, and Ardelach also in his charge: in 1608 the two latter were excluded. In 1611, he was cited before George, Archbishop of St. Andrews and others of the Privy Council and committed to ward in the Castle of Inverness, where he died 20 March, 1613.]
7. Patrick Tulloch [son of Robert T. of Tarnawheis, became min. at Cobham in Surrey, was pres. to the Archdeaconry of Moray by James VI., 1 July, 1613], in 1612, died in summer 1646 [before 14 July, aged about 66].
8. Joseph Brodie, from Keith, adm. Dec. 1646, died 27 Oct., 1656 [aged about 56].
9. Colin Falconer, from Essil, adm. 24 March, 1658, became Bishop [of Argyle] 1680 [1679].
10. William Law [chaplain to Alex. Earl of Moray], ord. [by the above] 16 Sep., 1680, dem. [dep. by Privy Council] in 1690. [Drowned in the Spey in 1697, aged about 40.]
11. Thomas Thomson [formerly of Carstairs], ord. about 1693, trans. to Turriff 1697 [prior to 6 May].
12. [David Pitcairn, min. of Creich, Fife, app. by Gen. Ass. 12 Feb., 1700, not adm.].
13. Charles Primrose, from Bellie, adm. [6] Jan., 1708, trans. to Elgin 1717 [17 April].
14. John Squire, ord. 1713, adm. 17 June, 1718, died 27 Jan., 1758 [in his 74th year].
15. Æneas Shaw, from Pettie, adm. 14 Dec., 1758, died 5 July, 1773.
16. Alex. Watt, from Alves, adm. 23 June, 1774. [Died 14 May, 1791, aged 66.]
17. [John Macdonell, trans. from Edenkeillie, adm. 28 June, 1792, died 16 April, 1824, aged 68.]
18. Wm. Hoyes, son of the Rev. John H. of Kinloss, schoolmaster of Cullen in 1818, ord. 23 Sep., 1824, died 20 Jan., 1827, in his 31st year.
19. Duncan Grant, trans. from Alves, adm. 27 Sep., 1827, joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption, died 17 March, 1866, in his 76th year.
20. Robert M'Pherson, D.D. 1843.
21. James Keith, native of Keith. 1853.

FREE CHURCH.

Adam Robertson, born at Paisley; educ. at Edinburgh University and New College. Ord. 12 Aug., 1852. M. 27 Nov., 1862.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

1st Church built 1772; 2nd built 1813; sittings, 712. The foundation stone of a new Church was laid on 8th September, 1870, by Colonel the Honourable James Grant, M.P. The accommodation is for 600, and cost nearly £3000. The Church was opened 26 Nov., 1871, by Rev. Dr. M'Ewen, of Glasgow, and Mr. Watson. Opening collection, £330 17s. 6d.

1. William Bennet, from Milnathort (Second). ord. 16 Aug., 1774. Died 29 Nov., 1798.
2. Thomas Stark, from Falkirk (South), ord. 25 Nov., 1802. Called to Potterrow, Edinburgh, 1807, and to Kirkwall, 1819, but continued in Forres. Died 9 Feb., 1849, æt. 70.
(In 1841 the congregation called Mr. Thomas Stevenson, afterwards of Auchtermuchty, but the call was not prosecuted.)
3. Adam L. Simpson, from Nicolson Street, Edinburgh. Called to Tain, Keith, and Forres. Ord. as colleague to Mr. Stark, 1842, resigned his charge 3 Feb., 1857, and was appointed Librarian of the Theological Hall Library, Edinburgh; afterwards min. of Derby. Author of "The Pleasures of Literature," a Lecture, and Funeral Sermon on the Death of his Colleague.
4. William Watson, M.A., from Aberdeen (St. Nicholas Lane). Called to Aberdeen (St. Nicholas' Lane), and Forres. Ord. 5 Nov., 1857.

Edinkillie, a vicarage to the seat of the Archdeacon, and whereon he was patron and titular. The Minister of Forres presented Mr. John Cumming in 1668, and Mr. David Cumming in 1672, and the Earl of Moray never presented before 1754. I do not find that this parish was erected before the Reformation; but there was a Chapel at Duldavie: and the Chapel of Logie Fythenach was the Archdeacon's vicarage. This and Ardclach were, for many years, one united parish, and were disjoined about 1638. The stipend, by decree in 1764, including Element money, is 750 merks, and three chalders, half bear, half meal. [New Kirk built in 1741.]

There are three charity schools erected in this parish. The Examinable persons are about 1200

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. Andrew Brown, min. in 1570 [1567, rem. to Altyre prior to 1574].
2. Robert Dunbar, min. of Edinkylie and Ardcalach in 1624, died in 1636 [aged about 46].
3. David Dunbar [second son to Robert D. of Boath], ord. 8 June, 1637, to both parishes, trans. to Nairn 1638.
4. John Dunbar, ord. to Edinkylie 1638, died in Spring 1646 [aged about 35.]
5. Patrick Glass, ord. 1649 [before 2 Oct.], died 18 March 1666 [aged about 52].
6. John Cumming [third son of J. C. of Relugas, schoolmaster at Turriff], ord. 2 Jan., 1668, trans. to Aldern 1672.
7. David Cumming [fourth son of the above J. C., and brother of the preceding, also schoolmaster at Turriff], ord. 25 April, 1672, died in summer 1699 [aged about 52].
8. Alex. Shaw [probably grandson of the Rev. George S. of Logie], crd. 6 May, 1702, died 24 June, 1753.
9. Alex. Coul, ord. 13 March, 1754. [Died 10 July, 1790.]
10. [John Macdonell, ord. as miss. at Fort Augustus, adm. 10 March, 1791, trans. to Forres 1 May, 1792.]
11. David Milne, trans. from Dallas, adm. 27 June, 1793, died 3 Jan., 1807, in his 65th year.
12. Thomas Macfarlane, trans. from Bressay, Zetland, adm. 1 Oct., 1807, died 7 Aug., 1827, in his 54th year.
13. Peter Ferries, a native of Dumfriesshire, pres. as assistant and successor at Avoch, 25 June, 1816, which was not carried out. Ord. 1 May, 1828, died 30 April, 1865, in his 70th year.
14. John Ferries, 1865. Resigned 1881.
15. George C. Watt, trans. from Burghead, 1881.

FREE CHURCH.

1. Donald Macdonald, born at Inverness, educ. at King's Coll., Aberdeen, M.A. 1840, ord. 19 Dec., 1844. M. 1845, died 9 May, 1863. Author of "Creation and the Fall," and "Introduction to the Pentateuch."
2. Alex. Anderson, born at Rhynie, Aberdeenshire; educ. at King's Coll. and Free Church Coll., Aberdeen. M.A. 1858, ord. 3 Dec., 1863. M. 31 March, 1864.

Moy and *Dyke* were distinct parishes, till the year 1624, when they were united by a decree of the Plat (*Syn. Rec.*). [The parish was held

with Dyke from 1585 till 1608, and united to it 24 Jan., 1618. The Session Register of Dyke from 1610 to 1640 went amissing between 1798 and 1842.] Moy was a parsonage, but I do not find that Dyke was so. Mr. Campbell of Calder is undoubted patron of Moy, by a disposition from Alexander Lord Spynie anno 1606. Mr. William Falconer seems to have been settled at Dyke about 1625; yet, upon a debate about teinds, the Earl of Dunfermline presented him in 1641, against which Mr. James Campbell of Moy protested, and the Synod, in 1642, ordered this protestation to be recorded in its proper place, in the Register of the Presbytery of Forres. In 1674, Mr. William Falconer, the Bishop's son, was presented by Dunfermline, and the Earl of Moray wrote to the Bishop, approving his settlement (*Syn. and Presb. Rec.*). Dunfermline, as commendator of Pluscarden, and thereby heritor or superior of Grangehill, might have been patron of Dyke, and forfeited to the Crown; but I know not of any right that the Earl of Moray has. The stipend is 97 bolls 3 firlots, and 500 merks, including Communion Elements. [New Kirk at Dyke built in 1781.] The school is legal. The family of Brodie has built a convenient house, and mortified a salary, for the education of girls. Harry Vause, who had long served Major George Grant of Coulbin, mortified to this parish £130 sterling, for clothing twelve

indigent boys. He mortified the like sum to the Infirmary at Edinburgh, and the same to that of Aberdeen, anno 1757. The Examinable persons are about 1400.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

Moy.

1. William Sutherland, min. [parson and exhorter] in 1564, 1574, and 1579. [Dep. by Gen. Ass. 30 June, 1564.]
2. George Simpson, reader at Moy in 1570 [from 1567 to 1591].
3. [Thomas Annand, son of John A., Elgin, pres. by James VI. 15 May, 1584, probably at Keith in 1599.]

Moy and Dalarossie.

1. James MacLachlan, adm. 1806, died 1844.
2. Thomas MacLachlan, ass. and suc. 1838, dem. 1843.
3. Hector MacKenzie, adm. 1844, died 1871.
4. Donald M. Simpson, adm. 1872.

Dyke.

1. Alex. Duff, reader at Dyke in 1570 [from 1567 to 1585].
2. Harry Dundas, min. at Dyke in 1613. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*.]
3. William Dunbar, min. at Moy in 1613 [pres. to the vicarage by James VI. 26 Aug., 1585].
4. William Falconer [son of Samuel F. of Kincorth, adm. before 25 Oct., 1625,] died 18 June, 1674 [aged about 75].
5. William Falconer [nephew of Colin afterwards Bishop, schoolmaster of Dyke], ord. in England [by Henry Bishop of Oxford], adm. 23 Sep., 1674, ejected [by the Privy Council] 1690.
6. Alex. Forbes [trans. from Stewarton], adm. about 1691 [before 1 April, 1692], died in [April] 1707.
7. James Chalmers [son of the Rev. Hugh C. of Marnoch], ord. 14 Sep. [July] 1709, trans. to Aberdeen in 1726 [30 March].
8. Robert Dunbar [of Kirkhill, second son of John D. of Kincorth], ord. 28 Sep., 1727. [Died 23 April, 1781.]
9. [John Dunbar, trans. from Knockando, adm. 6 May, 1788, died 15 Nov., 1807, in his 71st year.]
10. David Brichan, min. of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, Artillery Street, London, 28 Sep., 1803, D.D. St. Andrews in 1807, adm. 9 June, 1808, died 3 Feb., 1814.
11. James Smith, ord. 22 Sep., 1814, died 26 May, 1820.
12. Mark Aitken, ord. in 1816 as min. of the Presbyterian Chapel, Sunderland, adm. 30 Aug., 1821. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption, died 20 June, 1869, in his 82nd year.
13. John M'Ewen. 1843.

FREE CHURCH.

William Winter, born at Mains, Forfarshire, educ. at Dundee, St. Andrews Univ. and New Coll., Edinburgh. M.A. in 1851. Ord. 5 Feb., 1857. M. 3 June, 1857.

The General Assembly [28 May], 1773, disjoined from Forres, the parishes of Ardclach, Auldern, and Nairn; from Inverness, Calder and Croy; and from Chanonry, Ardersier; and erected these six into the

PRESBYTERY OF NAIRN.

[The *Register* begins 27 July, 1773, and is contained in 2 vols.]

Ardclach, a vicarage whereof the Minister of Rafford was titular, and probably patron. Brodie of Lethen, as patron of Rafford, acted as patron of Ardclach. I do not find, that Ardclach was called a parish before the Reformation; the Chapels of Fernes and Lethen, depending on the Dean of Aldern, seem to have been the places of worship, and the Church of Ardclach was built in 1626. [Rebuilt in 1762.]* The stipend, by agreement, is a chalder of meal, and 620 merks, including Element money. There is a legal school. And the Examinable persons are about 900.

The Protestant Ministers since the disjunction are as below.

1. William Brown, reader in 1570 [from Lammas 1569 to 1579].
2. William Simpson, vicar in 1588 [from 1580 to 1590].
3. Donald MacPherson, ord. [bef. 3 April] 1638, trans. to Calder in 1642 [bet. 11 Jan. and 5 April].

*[Because inconvenient it was re-erected by the Plat 13 Feb., 1650. See Note p. 431 explaining Plat.]

4. George Balfour, ord. [bef. 4 Oct.] in 1642, died 4 Jan., 1680 [aged about 64].
5. Patrick Grant [brother to the Laird of Grant], ord. 12 Aug., 1680, died [bef. 20] Sep., 1715 [aged about 63].
6. John Duncanson, ord. 13 Sep., 1716, trans. to Pettie in 1728 [11 June].
7. William Baron [miss. at Inveravon and Glenlivat], adm. 24 April, 1729. [Died 27 Jan., 1779, in his 86th year. He married Jean Grant, by whom he had 16 children. He had the honour to join in marriage the parents of Henry MacKenzie, the author of the "Man of Feeling."]
8. [William Shaw, born at Clachaig in Kilmorie, Arran, ord. 14 Oct., 1779. Demitted 1 Aug., 1780, for a living in the Church of England. Great Gaelic scholar.]
9. Donald Mitchell, prom. from the Little Church, Elgin, adm. 3 May, 1781, died 22 June, 1811, in his 62nd year. He had six sons and two daughters, one of the former (James Errol M.) was born blind, deaf, and dumb, of whom notices are given in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, Edinburgh, 1812 and 1815.
10. Hugh Macbean, miss. at Ullapool, adm. 10 Sep., 1812. *M.* Ann Fraser, Inverness. Died 17 Sep., 1851, aged 74.
11. Colin M'Kenzie, born at Rogart Manse; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen. Ord. in Feb., 1850. *M.* in Jan., 1854, Eliza Isabella, daughter of the late Rev. John M'Kenzie, minister of Lochcarron.

FREE CHURCH.

1. Henry M'Leod, educ. at Invergordon and Aberdeen. Ord. 16 Aug., 1844. Died 19 Feb., 1876.
2. Alex. MacDonald, born 28 Dec., 1838; educ. at Stornoway and Glasgow University. Ord. 6 Aug., 1872. *M.* 9 Oct., 1872.

Auldearn, a parsonage, and the seat of the dean. [The Church was dedicated to St. Columba.] In 1650, some parts of this large parish were annexed to Nairn, Calder, and Ardclach. The patronage was disposed by Lord Spynie to Dunbar of Grange, and by him to Hay of Park, from whom it came to the family of Brodie. The stipend, by decree in 1755, is 6 chalders, half bear, half meal, 400 merks, 10 merks for the Dean's Crook, near Elgin, 14 wedders, and £60 for Communion Elements. [New Kirk built in

1757, repaired in 1816.] The school is legal. Examinable persons are about 1400.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. Alexander Dunbar, Dean of Moray, in 1560, 1574, and 1586.
2. William Reoch, exhorter at Aldern and Nairn, in 1570.
3. [Nicol Howeson, trans. from Dunnichen, in 1574.]
4. James Rait, 1585, cont. in 1590, trans. to Bervie.]
5. Thomas Dunbar [trans. from Nairn], min. and dean in [1591] 1613.
[Cont. in 1616.]
6. John Brodie [third son of David B. of B.], min. and dean in [1622] 1624, died 7 Jan., 1655.
7. Harry Forbes from Wick, adm. 10 Oct., 1655, dem. in 1663. [He witnessed several remarkable confessions of witches.]
8. George Hannay, from Inveravon, adm. 24 July, 1664, died in 1669 [aged about 68].
9. John Cummine, from Edinkylie, adm. 14 Feb., 1672, dem. in 1682. [Afterwards at Cullen.]
10. Thomas Kay [is said to have been a "notorious drunkard"], ord. in the south [at Aberdeen 22 April, 1683], adm. 17 April, 1683, expelled [by the Privy Council] in 1690.
11. Alexander Dunbar [schoolmaster here. Afterwards chaplain and tutor in the family of Rose of Kilravock. Ord. prior to July 13, 1678. Imprisoned in 1684, and banished by the Privy Council in March, 1685. Imprisoned same year on the Bass Rock. Died after 3 years' illness, 29 Oct., 1707, aged about 57. He gave ijc for Com. cups]. Adm. [before 1 May] in 1690, died in 1708.
12. David Henderson, ord. 13 Sep., 1709, died in June [July], 1727.
13. James Winchester, from Rafford, adm. 12 May, 1726, trans. to Elgin 1730 [22 April].
14. Alexander Irvine, from St. Andrews, adm. 7 Jan., 1731, trans. to Elgin 1735 [10 July].
15. Donald [Daniel] Munro, ord. 23 Sep., 1736, trans. to Tayne in 1745 [17 April].
16. Thomas Gordon, from Cabrach, adm. 12 Feb., 1747. [Died 25 Nov., 1793, in his 84th year.]
17. [John Paterson, adm. 28 Aug., 1794, died unmarried, 13 Dec., 1813, in his 42nd year.]
18. William Barclay, son of Charles B., Auchterless, ord. 28 Sep., 1814. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption, died 4 June, 1857, in his 67th year.
19. Charles Fowler. Ord. and died in 1843.
20. James Reid, born at Dunblane; educ. at Glasgow University. Ord. in 1844. *M.* Widow Mary Falconer, daughter of the late Robt. Skene, Skene Park, Nairnshire. Died in 1873.
21. James Bonallo, born at Ardoch; educ. at Edinburgh University. Ord. in 1874.

FREE CHURCH.

1. William Barclay. Died 4 June, 1847.
2. William G. Forrester ; educ. at Normal School, Edinburgh, and Edinburgh University. Ord. 29 April 1858.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Moyness, formerly *Boghole*, in the Parish of Auldearn. Met in summer in the courtyard, and in winter in the vault of the ruined Castle of Moyness, till 1753, when they took possession of a place of worship they had built for themselves in the vicinity :—2nd Church built 1777. 3rd built 1848 ; sittings, 420.

1. Alexander Troup, located as a missionary to the Seceders in the shires of Moray and Ross, 1746 ; adhered, with all the persons to whom he ministered, to the General Associate (Antiburgher) Synod at the breach, 1747. Ord. as minister of the united congregations of Elgin and Boghole, 1748. Trans. to Perth, 1763.

(After Mr. Troup's translation, the congregations of Elgin and Boghole were disjoined, and each of them obtained a minister for itself.)

2. Henry Clerk, from Abernethy, ord. 11 Aug., 1763. Died 15 June, 1809, æt. 76.

(During the vacancy of six years, occasioned by the death of Mr. Clerk, the congregation called Mr. Gilmour, who was appointed by the Synod to South Shields, and the Rev. Mr. Wood, previously of Ratteray, then a probationer. The Rev. T. Stark, of Forres, preached to the congregation during the long vacancy from 80 to 90 times.

3. David Anderson, from Perth (North), ord. 15 April, 1815. Res. 25 Jan., 1839 ; emigrated to America, became minister of a congregation in Carlisle, Philadelphia. Died of apoplexy in one of the streets of Philadelphia, 1841, æt. 56.

(The congregation called on James Morison, who preferred Kilmarnock ; Andrew Gardner, afterwards of Kincardine, who declined the call.)

4. John Whyte, from Kinross (West), called to Broughty Ferry and Boghole. Ord. 24 March, 1842. Author of “*The Sabbath Established and Vindicated*.”

Nairn, a vicarage, anciently *Capella de Inner-narin*, depending on the Dean of Moray, who was patron and titular. In 1687, Mr. George Dunbar was presented by the Dean (*Rec. Presbytery of Forres*) ; and now the Laird of Brodie, as patron

of Aldern, claims the right, and did present in 1759. The Virgin's Chapel at Geddes was built anno 1220, and in 1475, Pope Sextus IV. granted a Bull, dispensing with a hundred days of penance, for every visit paid to it, on the Day of Assumption, Nativity, &c., or for repairing the building (*Pen. Kilravock*).

The stipend, by decreet, is 80 bolls of bear, £500, and £50 for Communion Elements. The school is legal. Examinable persons are about 1300.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. John Young, exhorter in 1578 [1567].
2. William Reoch, exhorter in Aldern and Nairn in 1570. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
3. [John Ross, reader, in 1574.]
4. Walter Ross, in 1576.
5. James Smith from 1578 to 1580.
6. Thomas Dunbar, 1590, trans. to Auldearn same year.]
7. Andrew Balfour, min. in 1598 [1597]. Cont. in 1601. Trans. to Cawdor before 1607.
8. George Makesonn, 1608, trans. to Wigton prior to 1614.]
9. John Sanders, min. in 1624 [1616], died about 1637.
10. David Dunbar, from Edinkylie, adm. [after 3 April], 1638, died 1662. [21 Feb., aged about 49.]
11. Hugh Rose [eldest son of David R. of Earlsmill], ord. 4 Jan., 1660, as assist., died [7] Dec., 1686 [aged about 53].
12. George Dunbar, from Dallas, adm. 25 May, 1687, died Dec., 1728 [aged about 76].
13. Alexander Rose, ord. 7 July, 1730, died 16 Dec., 1757.
14. Patrick Dunbar [a native of Auldearn], ord. 12 April, 1759. [Died 19 July, 1782.]
15. [John Morrison, a native of Mortlach, schoolmaster at Nigg, adm. 11 May, 1788, died 26 Dec., 1830.]
16. James Grant, son of the Rev. Alex. G. of Cawdor. Educ. at King's Coll., Aberdeen. Ord. 13 July, 1815. *M.* Christina M'Intosh in 1818. Died 14 Dec., 1853, in his 64th year.
17. James Burns, born at Cambusnethan. Educ. at Glasgow Univ. Ord. at Levern, Paisley, in 1852. Trans. in 1854. *M.* Jane Isabella, daughter of Peter M'Dougall, Banker, Nairn, in 1874.

FREE CHURCH.

1. Alex. M'Kenzie, ord. 16 Nov., 1843, trans. to Edinburgh, 15 Oct. 1863.
2. Murdoch MacDonald, educ. at Inverness and Glasgow, ord. 23 Sep., 1864, trans to Toorak, Australia, 3 Oct., 1875.
3. Alexander Lee, M.A., educ. at Inverness High School and Edinburgh Univ., 7th June, 1878.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

1st Congregation 1769; 2nd Church built in 1815, cost £820, sittings 512; 3rd Church built in 1852, cost £1,600, sittings 825.

1. Henry Clerk, from Abernethy, ord. for Boghole and Nairn, 1763. Ceased connexion with Nairn in 1769.
2. Isaac Ketchen, from Alloa (First), called to Cabrach and Nairn, ord. at Nairn 13 April, 1780. Became son-in-law to Brodie of Brodie, from whom he refused two livings in his patronage to the Established Kirk. Called in 1816 to Stronsay, but declined. Died at Nairn 12 May, 1820, æt. 70.
3. James Mein, from Blackfriars', Jedburgh, ord. 30 Jan., 1822, died 9 June, 1841, æt. 30.
(The congregation called George MacKenzie, afterwards of Carnoustie; and T. Stevenson, afterwards of Auchtermuchty).
4. John Bisset, from Erskine Church, Arbroath, ord. 27 Sep., 1843. Called to Lethendry, but declined.
5. G. K. Heughan, ord. 1876.

Ardersier, a parsonage in the Presbytery of Chanonrie, and the seat of the Sub-Dean of Ross. The Laird of Calder is patron, by a right from Keith of Ravenscraig anno 1599. (*Pen. Calder*). This parish was annexed to the Synod of Moray in 1705, but soon after disjoined. The stipend is 80 bolls of victual and about £50 of vicarage. [New Kirk built in 1781-2. Removed to another site about 1769.] The Examinable persons without the precinct of the fort are about 400. There is no school.

And the Ministers, since the Revolution in 1688, are :—

1. [The Incumbent was formerly Dean of Ross.]
2. John Smith, reader, Nov., 1569. Disc. 1571. Replaced and cont. till 1579.
3. William Pape in 1580.
4. James Lauder, 1597. Rem. from Kilmuir Wester. Afterwards at Avoch.
5. Thomas Urquhart, son of John U. of Cromarty, 1599. Cont. in 1615.
6. Patrick Durhame, trans. from Idvie in 1628. Cont. 17 July, 1655. He had the vacant stipends for 1658-9, and was also pres. to the Deanery of Ross, a separate benefice—all because of his complaint of being dep. by that Synod after a service of 30 years.
7. John M'Culloch, dep. by the Privy Council 1 Oct., 1662.]
8. John Dallas, Sub-Dean in 1688. Died about 1693. [Adm. before 18 April, 1665. Depr. by Act of Parl. 25 April, 1690.]
9. Lauchlan MacBean, from Calder, adm. 1695. Deprived in 1706 [before 6 Dec. for immorality].
10. Hugh Campbell, ord. [7 Aug.] 1707. Trans. to Kiltearn in 1708.
11. Donald Beaton, [eldest son of Kenneth B. of Leabost] ord. [24 Sep.] 1713. Trans. to Rosekene in 1717 [26 March].
12. Alexander Falconer, [schoolmaster at Cromarty] ord. [10 June] 1718. Trans. to [Urquhart and Logie Wester 26 Nov.] Ferntosh in 1728.
13. Duncan MacIntosh, ord. [25 Sep.] 1729. Died in 1736 [6 June, 1738].
14. James Calder, ord. [8 May, 1740] in 1737. Trans. to Croy 1747 [24 March].
15. Donald Brodie, ord. 11 May, 1749. Trans. to Calder 1752 [20 Nov.]
16. Harry Gordon, ord. 5 April, 1757. Died March 15, 1764.
17. Walter Morrison, [miss. at Glenlivet] ord. [1 Feb.] 1763. Adm. Sept. 27, 1764. [Died 14 May, 1780, aged about 44. He was nicknamed "Witty Watty."]
18. [Pryse Campbell, a native of Mearns, ord. 23 March, 1781. Died 1 Feb., 1840, in his 86th year.]
19. John Matheson. 1839.
20. Simon Fraser, born at Kilmorack Manse; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen; ord. 1841. *M.* 1841, Cath. Noble, Inverness. Trans. to Kilmorack in May, 1846.
21. William Forsyth, born at Cromdale; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen; ord. Oct., 1846. Trans. to Dornoch in April, 1853.
22. Evan Ross, born at Killearnan; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh; ord. at Paisley in 1852. Trans. in 1853. *M.* in 1855, Jane, daughter of the late Joseph Ewing, surgeon, Fort-George.

FREE CHURCH.

1. John Mathieson. Died 12th Nov., 1848.
2. Donald Cameron, ord. 21st Nov., 1849. Trans. to Kirkmichael 3rd May, 1853.
3. Alex. Cameron; Glasgow; ord. 19th Jan., 1854.

Cawdor, a parsonage dedicated to St. Ewan, whereof the Laird of Calder is patron, by a disposition from the Lord Spynie anno 1606. The parish was called *Bar-Ewan*, i.e., Saint, or Excellent Ewan. The Church stood in the south end till the year 1619. [Formerly the name was Braaven, and was changed to Calder or Cawdor in 1619.] Sir John Campbell, being in danger by water coming from Yla, vowed, if he arrived safe at Calder, he would build a Church in the centre of the parish, which he performed that same year.

There was at Old Calder a Chapel of Ease. In the court of the castle was a Private Chapel, and at Dallas in the Streins was a Free Chapel, with a glebe and a proper stipend.

The east end of this parish was disjoined from Aldearn and annexed to Calder in 1650.

The stipend, by decreet in 1722, is 20 bolls bear, 20 bolls meal, 550 merks, and £50 for Communion Elements. The school is legal. Examinable persons 700.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. Allan MacIntosh, exhorter in 1568. Parson [pres. 19 June, 1569] in 1581 and 1586. [Cont. in 1591.]
2. [Normond Duncan, 1592, having also Croy, Moy, and Dacus. Trans. to Mortlach.

3. Allan MacIntosh, noticed above, returned in 1595. Cont. in 1599.
4. John MacIntosh, 1601.]
5. Andrew Balfour, [trans. from *Nairn*] min. in 1623 [1607]. Died about 1625 [after 25 Oct.].
6. Gilbert Henderson, [Anderson, adm. before 30 Oct., 1647] in 1626. Trans. in 1641 [to Cromarty between 5 Oct., 1641, and 11 Jan., 1642].
7. Donald MacPherson, from Ardclach, adm. in 1642. Died in Dec., 1686 [26 Nov., aged about 72. In 1643 a complaint was made to the Privy Council against him and the Tutor of Calder for "waking a woman the space of 20 days naked, with nothing on her but sackcloth, under a charge of witchcraft."]
8. Lauchlan MacBean, [schoolmaster at *Nairn* 29 March, 1682] ord. in Sep., 1687. Trans. to Ardersier 1695.
9. James Chapman, [son of Robert C., merchant, *Inverness*] ord. 1699. Trans. to Cromdale in 1702 [14 Oct.].
10. John Calder, ord. 1704 [14 March, 1705]. Died in March, 1717.
11. Lauchlan Shaw, from Kingusie, adm. 19 Nov., 1719. Trans. to Elgin 1734 [17 April].
12. Patrick Grant, ord. 7 May, 1735. Trans. to Urray in 1749 [13 May].
13. Donald Brodie, from Ardersier, adm. 13 May, 1752. Died 21 May, 1771 [aged 47].
14. Kenneth MacAuly, from Ardnamarchan, adm. 17 Nov., 1772. [Died 2 March, 1779, in his 56th year.]
15. [Alexander Grant, trans. from Daviot and Dunlichty. Adm. 30 March, 1780. Died 28 June, 1828, in his 85th year.]
16. Alexander Fraser, son of the Rev. Donald F., Kirkhill, ord. 20 Nov., 1828. Trans. to Kirkhill 12 Jan., 1837.
17. Simon Fraser M'Lauchlan, trans. from Suizort. Adm. 28 July, 1837. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption. Adm. to the Free Church, Kenmore, same year, but retired here in 1844.
18. George Campbell, ord. 1843. Trans. to Tarbat, Ross-shire, in 1845.
19. Lewis M'Pherson, born at Knockando; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen; ord. at Inch, Abernethy, in 1837. *M.* Rachel Reid, Cawdor, in 1846. *M.* 2nd, Eliz. Bury in 1869. Died in 1876.
20. Thomas Fraser, born at Boharm; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen; ord. at Seafield, Fordyce, in 1873; inducted in 1876.

FREE CHURCH.

1. S. F. M'Lauchlan (still senior minister).
2. John M'Pherson, born at Portree; Glasgow; ord. 26th Oct., 1876.

Croy and *Dalcross* were distinct parishes, and have still a glebe in each, but I find not how early they were united. *Croy* was a parsonage, on which Moy in Strathern depended as a vicar-

age. Dalcross was a vicarage, depending on the Prior of Urquhart, and in 1343 there was an agreement between the Prior of Urquhart and the Baron of Kilravock that the Vicar of Dealgan-Ross, now Dalcross, should officiate in the Private Chapel of Kilravock. (*Pen. Kilrav.*) The Laird of Calder is patron of Dalcross, by a disposition from Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, and Lord Urquhart in 1610; and he likewise claims the Patronage of Croy, for Kilravock has few acts of possession.

There was in the south of the parish a Chapel of Ease, called *Kil-Doich*, i.e., Dorothy's Church; another in the north at Chapeltoun; and probably there was at Kilravock a Chapel dedicated to one of the name Ravok. The stipend, by decreet, is 5 chalders bear, 500 merks, and 50 merks for Communion Elements. [New Kirk built in 1767.] The school is legal. Examinable persons 1800.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. James Vause, reader at Croy and Moy 1567 [from Candlemas 1567 to 1586].
2. Patrick Lyddel, minister at Croy in 1585.
3. James Vause, from [Daviot and] Dunlichtie, adm. in 1618. Died in 1660 [Sept.].
4. Hugh Fraser, ord. in Dec., 1662 [17 June, 1663]. Died about 1699. [Accused of bigamy, and dep. by General Assembly in 1700.]
5. Alexander Fraser, ord. in spring [18 Feb] 1703. Trans. to Ferntosh in 1715. [Trans. to Urquhart and Logie Wester 4 May, 1708, but cont. here till 1715.]
6. Ferchard [Farquhar] Beaton, [third son of Kenneth B. of Leabost] ord. in winter 1718 [18 Feb., 1719]. Died in Feb., 1746 [6 Feb., aged 52].
7. James Calder, from Ardersier, adm. 28 April, 1747. [Died 24 Dec., 1775, in his 65th year.]

8. [Hugh Calder, son of the former, ord. 24 Sept., 1778. Died 31 Aug., 1822, in his 78th year.]
9. Alexander Campbell, born at Ardersier; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen. Trans. from Dores. Ord. 3 July, 1823. *M.* Beatrice M'Raee. Died 10 Jan., 1853, in his 74th year.
10. Thomas Fraser, born at Kirkhill; educ. at King's College, Aberdeen; ord. in 1853. *M.* 1861, Anne Robertson, daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Farquharson, Alford, Aberdeenshire.

FREE CHURCH.

Adam G. M'Leod, born at Kildonan; educ. at Aberdeen; ord. 20 March, 1856.

PRESBYTERY OF INVERNESS.

Moy and *Dalarasie* were distinct parishes, and there is still a glebe in each. How early they were united I find not. Kilravock, as Patron of Croy on which Moy depended, claims the patronage, but I know not by what right. The stipend is 800 merks and 50 merks for Communion Elements. [New Kirk built at Moy in 1765, and another at Dalrossie in 1790, in both of which there is preaching alternately.] There is no school. The Examinable persons are 1,000.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. Andrew Dow Fraser, [reader at Dalarossie or Tallarassie from 1574 to 1576. Removed from Boleskine 1614. Cont. at Dalarossie in 1616, Bullesken being also in charge. Removed to Moy prior to 1616. Trans. to Abertarff prior to 25 Oct., 1625.] Trans. to Boleskin in 1624.
2. Lauchlan Grant, ord. [before 30 Oct.] 1627. Trans. to Kingusie in 1649 [after 3 April].
3. Roderick MacKenzie [from Elgin] ord. [prior to 21 May, 1654] in 1653. Died in Feb., 1680 [after the 4th].
4. Alexander Cumming, ord. in May, 1680. Died 27 April, 1709. [Though a Jacobite, he cont. after the Revolution.]
5. James Leslie, ord. [23] Aug., 1716. Died 28 Oct., 1766.
6. James MacIntosh, [schoolmaster at Cawdor and miss. in Strathearn], ord. 14 July, 1767. [Dep. for fornication 28 May, 1787. Died 9 May, 1799, in his 72nd year.]
7. [William M'Bean, adm. 5 Aug., 1788. Trans. to Alves 18 Sept., 1792.]

8. Hugh M'Kay, son of Angus M'K., in Kinloch, merchant in Glasgow, schoolmaster at Tongue, miss. at Halkirk. Adm. 25 April, 1793. Died 7 March, 1804, aged about 42.
9. James M'Lachlan, prom. from the Gaelic Chapel, Edinburgh. Adm. 3 Sept., 1806. Died 10 Nov., 1843, in his 76th year.
10. Thomas M'Lachlan, youngest son of the former, ord. (assist. and succ.) 19 April, 1838. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption. Adm. to Dores Free Church in 1844, and to Edinburgh Free Gaelic Church in 1849. LL.D. Aberdeen in Nov., 1864.
11. Hector M'Kenzie. 1844.

Daviot and *Dunlichtie* were distinct parishes, united about the year 1618, and the Minister has a glebe in each. *Dunlichtie* was a parsonage, of which the Laird of Calder is patron. *Daviot* was a common [or mensal] Kirk. The Bishop presented Mr. Alexander Fraser in 1664, and having presented Mr. Michael Fraser in 1673, Calder obliged the Bishop to annul the settlement, to declare the Church vacant, and then Calder presented the same Mr. Michael Fraser. (*Rec. Presb. of Inverness.*) The stipend, including Communion Elements, is 1,000 merks. [New Kirk built in 1826.] The school is legal. MacPhail of Inverarnie has mortified 400 merks, and MacIntosh of Farr 300 merks for the poor. Examinable persons are about 1,000.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. John Dow MacDonachie, [M'Conduquhy] reader, 1569.
2. [John Stewart, reader in 1574.]
3. Robert Mosman, reader from 1576 to 1578.
4. John Ross, reader from 1579 to 1585.]
5. Hugh Gregory, parson of Lundichty, 1579.
[Nos. 1 to 5 omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*].
6. James Vause, [trans. from Dunlichty], parson in 1613. Trans. to Croy in 1618.

7. Alexander Thomson, [formerly at Dores] min. in 1625 [1623]. Dep. in 1646 [prior to 6 Oct.].
8. Alexander Rose [natural son of William Rose of Clava]; ord. [before 5 Oct.] 1647. Died in 1660 [after 2 Oct.].
9. Alexander Fraser, [trans. from Abbotshall] ord. 31 Aug., 1664. Deprived 1672 for Non-conformity [19 Oct.].
10. Michael Fraser, [schoolmaster at Thurso] ord. 19 Feb., 1673. Died in April 1726. [Admonished by Synod 24 Nov., 1675, to abstain from all limning and painting, which diverted him from his ministerial duties.]
11. James Fraser, ord. 13 March, 1729. Died 18 June, 1736.
12. John Campbell, ord. 14 Jan., 1738. Died 4 Nov., 1759.
13. Patrick Grant, ord. [8] 22 April, 1761. Trans. to Boleskin 10 May, 1770.
14. Alexander Grant, [son of the Rev. George G. of Kirkmichael, miss. at Fort William] adm. 2 April, 1771. [Trans. to Cawdor 7 Dec., 1779.]
15. Alex. Gordon, adm. 19 April, 1781. Died 3 April, 1801.
16. James Macphail, prom. from the Gaelic Chapel, Aberdeen. Adm. 13 May, 1802. Died July, 1839, aged 73.
17. John Clark, adm. 1843. Trans. 1844.
18. Dugald M'Kitchan, adm. 1845. Died 1858.
19. James M'Donald, adm. 1859.

Pettie and *Brachlie* were distinct charges, and have distinct glebes. Petty is a parsonage, dedicated to St. Coluim [Columba], and Brachlie a vicarage depending thereon. The Earl of Moray is patron. The stipend is 80 bolls bear, 500 merks, and 50 merks for Communion Elements. The school is legal. The Examinable persons are about 1,100.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. Andrew Braboner, exhorter in 1568 [1567].
2. [John Gordoun, 1574, having also Brachley, to which it "was united of auld." Cont. in 1579.]
3. James Dunbar, parson in 1579 [1580. Cont. in 1591.]
4. Donald MacQueen in 1613. Died about 1630. [Pres. by James VI. 10 May, 1596. Died 22 Aug., 1630.]
5. Alexander Fraser, ord. [prior to 6 May] 1633. Died in summer [30 April] 1683.

6. Alexander Denune, ord. privately [23 March]. Adm. 20 April, 1684. Deposed [19 June] 1706 [for swearing, drunkenness, &c.]. Died 1718 [26 Jan., 1719, aged about 61.]
7. Daniel MacKenzie, from Inveravon, adm. 8 Oct., 1719. Trans. to Inverness 1727 [3rd charge, 3 Oct.].
8. John Duncanson, from Ardclach, adm. 18 June, 1728. Died 6 May, 1737.
9. Lewis Chapman, from Alvie, adm. [6 June], 1738. Died 19 April, 1741 [in his 36th year].
19. Æneas Shaw, from Comrie, adm. 8 June, 1742. Trans. to Forres in 1758 [31 Oct.].
11. John Morison, [a native of Speymouth] ord. an itinerant [21 Jan., 1746, as miss. at Amultree]. Adm. 21 Aug., 1759. Died [9] Nov., 1774 [in his 73rd year.]
12. [William Smith, a native of Rafford, ord. 5 Sept., 1775. Died 15 Nov., 1833, in his 87th year. At one time he contemplated to publish a Revision of this present Work.]
13. John Grant, assist. to the former, ord. assist. and succ. 24 July, 1834. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption. Adm. to the Free Church, Roseneath, same year. Died 2 Sept., 1855.
14. Colin M'Kenzie, adm. 1843. Trans. 1858.
15. John Fraser, adm. 1859.

Inverness is a parsonage, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, [and previous to the Reformation belonged to the Abbey of Arbroath. The Highland or Parish Church was taken possession of by the Presbyterians in 1691, and rebuilt in 1794. The English Church was built in 1772, and the West Church in 1835], and in 1618 the parish of Bona, likewise a parsonage, was annexed to it by the Plat.* Lord Spynie, patron of Bonâ, did, in 1623, dispone his right to Fraser of Strichen, who, as vice-patron, presented Mr. John Anand in 1640, and the Synod of Moray in 1648 found that the other vice belonged to the Crown. Yet, after this, the family of Seafort claimed a vice,

* The word *Plat* means such Members of Parliament as were appointed to modify stipends, annex, or disjoin parishes.

but by what right I find not; and in 1674 the Lord Kintail presented Mr. Gilbert Marshal. But in a Sub-Synod at Forres in 1674 the Bishop produced two letters to him from the Primate discharging him to plant the Church of Inverness upon Seafort's presentation. And yet in 1688 Seafort presented Mr. Hector MacKenzie. (*Rec. of Syn. and Presb. of Inverness.*) Now, by the forfeiture of Seafort and of Lord Lovate, to whom it is said Strichen had sold the patronage with his lands, both *vices* have come to the Crown, and the third charge is a Royal gift, the patronage of which, without doubt, is in the Crown. I have not found two Ministers in Inverness before 1638. For many years after the Reformation few towns had more than one Minister, one manse, and one glebe, but a second glebe and manse at Inverness were obtained as follows:—"Messrs. John Annand and Murdoch MacKenzie, with consent of Strichen the patron, and James Cuthbert of Drakies Provost, and James Rose of Markinsh one of the Bailies, Commissioners from the Town, and Presbytery of Inverness, in the General Assembly held at Aberdeen, in August 1640, did, with the approbation of the Assembly, agree, that the whole stipend, due to the said Ministers, for the year 1640, with the sum of 700 merks advanced by the Magistrates, should be laid out in purchasing a manse and glebe, for the said Mr. Annand, and his successors in office, which was

accordingly done." This Deed is at large recorded in the Synod Register, *Ad Annum* 1651, page 201, &c. The stipend of two Ministers, by decree in 1755, is to each 84 bolls, 1 firlot, 2 pecks, 2 lippies of meal, and £491 6s. 8d., with £50 to each for Communion Elements. In the year 1706 a living for a third Minister was obtained as follows:—Mr. Robert Bailie, one of the Ministers, understood not the Irish language, and Mr. Hector Mackenzie, the other Minister, was superannuated, by which means the Irish people were totally neglected, wherefore the Queen, by her Royal gift, dated 4th October, 1706, granted out of the rents of the Bishoprick of Moray the sum of £881 1s. 6d. Scots annually, as a maintainance for a third Minister, but he has no allowance for a manse, or glebe, or Communion Elements.

The three Ministers are colleagues, keep one general session or consistory, and agree upon a partition of their ministerial work.

There are in the town a Grammar School, and a School for teaching English, writing, arithmetic, &c.; and the Charity School, erected by the donation of Mr. John Raining of Norwich, merchant, who mortified £1,200 sterling, is fixed in this town.

There is a valuable Library, the donation mainly of Dr. Bray and Mr. James Fraser, son of Mr. Alexander Fraser, some time Minister at Pettie, who not only gave many books, but likewise a

sum of money to purchase more and afford a salary for a keeper of the library.

The principal stock of the Hospital of Inverness in bonds, lands, fishing, at Martinmas 1746, was £2,303 3s. 9 $\frac{2}{3}$ d. sterling. Item, a separate rent paid out of the Weigh House and Hospital Garden annually, £3 6s. 8d. sterling. The Laird of MacIntosh's Mortification in the trust of the Hospital Treasurer is of principal £166 13s. 4d. sterling. George Duncan's Mortification is £200 Scots annually, whereof one half towards repairing the Church, and the other to maintain boys at Raining's School.

With respect to the succession of Ministers I have not found any Minister in Bona before the junction of the parishes, except Mr. Thomas Innes, who was patron of Bonaw in 1598. Mr. William Coggie was brought to Inverness in 1620 and served with faithfulness till 1640, when some of the heritors and magistrates entered a complaint against him before the Synod of Moray, from which he was honourably assoilzied, but judged himself so ill used that he would serve no longer in that town, and therefore demitted his charge. Of Mr. Angus M'Bean's conduct I shall speak afterwards. At the Revolution Mr. John MacGilligin preached for some time at Inverness, but was not settled, and died 8th June, 1689. Likewise Mr. James Fraser of Brae preached there for some time, but was not settled Minister.

The number of Examinable persons in town and parish to landward is about 6,000.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. Thomas Howeson, min. in 1568 and 1590.
2. Thomas Innes, parson of Bona in 1598.
3. James Bishop, min. in 1617.
4. William Coggie, from Inveravon, adm. in 1620. Dem. in 1640.
5. George Munro, Irish [Erse] minister, ord. 1638. Dem. in 1640 for want of maintainance.
6. Murdoch MacKenzie, from Contane, adm. 1640. Trans. to Elgin in 1645.
7. John Annand, from Dunbenan, adm. 1640. Died in Nov., 1660.
8. Duncan MacCulloch, ord. 1642. Trans. to Urquhart 1647, for want of maintainance.
9. William Fraser, ord. 1648. Died in Sept., 1659.
10. James Sutherland, ord. in April, 1660. Died in Sept., 1673.
11. Alexander Clerk, ord. in April, 1663. Died in Sept., 1683.
12. Gilbert Marshal, from Cromdale, adm. in Sept., 1674. Died about 1690.
13. Angus MacBean, privately ord. Adm. 29 Dec., 1683. Demitted in 1687.
14. Hector MacKenzie, from Kingusie, adm. 2 May 1688. Died 14 June, 1719.
15. Robert Bailie, from Lambinton, adm. in 1701. Died 11 Feb., 1726.
16. William Stewart, from Kiltearn, adm. in 1705. Trans. to Kiltearn in 1726.
17. Alexander MacBean, from Douglas, adm. Nov., 1720. Died 2 Nov., 1762.
18. Alexander Fraser, from Ferntosh, adm. 4 April, 1727. Died 6 May, 1750.
19. Daniel MacKenzie, from Pettie, adm. 10 Oct., 1727. Died 21 March, 1730.
20. William Bailie, ord. 22 July, 1731. Died 14 May, 1739.
21. Murdoch MacKenzie, from Dingwal, adm. 13 July, 1742. Died 7 April, 1774.
22. James Grant, ord. 14 April, 1752. Died 14 Dec. that same year.
23. Alexander Fraser, from Avoch, adm. 13 Nov., 1754.
24. Robert Rose, ord. 27 Sept., 1763.
25. —— Watson, from Kiltearn, adm. 1775.

REVISED FROM DR. HEW SCOTT'S "FASTI ECC. SCOT."

1. [Thomas Houston or Howeson. Orders from the Church of Rome. Joined the Reformers. Settled prior to 1567. In 1585 Farnua was joined to the charge, and in 1590 Bonoch was also added. Died 9 Feb., 1605.]

2. James Bischop, pres. by James VI., 21 July, 1617.
3. William Coggie, trans. from Inveraven. Adm. in 1620. Afterwards at Spynie.
4. Murdo M'Kenzie, trans. from Contin. Elected 1 June, 1640. Trans. to Elgin in 1645. Bishop of Moray 18 Jan., 1662.
5. John Annand, trans. from 2nd charge, 1645. Died in Nov., 1660, aged about 63.
6. James Sutherland, trans. from 2nd charge, 166-. Died in Sept., 1673, aged about 41.
7. Alexander Clerk, trans. from 2nd charge. He gave jc merks towards building the bridge founded in 1681. Died in Sept., 1683, aged about 58.
8. Angus M'Bean, son of M'B. of Kinchyle, 1683. Dep. and imprisoned for abjuring Episcopacy. Died in Feb., 1689, in his 33rd year.
9. Hector M'Kenzie, trans. from Kingussie. Adm. 2 May, 1688. Died 14 June, 1719, aged about 74.
10. William Stuart, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 26 Jan., 1720. Trans. to Kiltearn 9 May, 1726.
11. Alexander M'Bean, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 4 April, 1727. Died 2 Nov., 1762.
12. Murdoch M'Kenzie, trans. from 2nd charge. Adm. 2 May, 1763. Died 7 April, 1774, aged 74.
13. Robert Rose, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 4 Dec., 1774. Died 2 Aug., 1799.
14. Patrick Grant, trans. from Boleskine. Adm. 2 Sept., 1800. Trans. to Kiltarlity 4 Nov., same year.
15. Alexander Fraser, trans. from 2nd charge. Adm. 3 March, 1801. Died 20 May, 1821, in his 70th year.
16. Thomas Fraser, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 6 Nov., 1821. Died 3 Feb., 1834, aged 69.
17. Alexander Clark, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 17 June, 1834. Died 6 May, 1852, aged 55.
18. Donald M'Donald, D.D. Trans. from 2nd charge, 1852.

Second Charge.

1. John Annand, adm. after 13 April, 1624. Trans. to Kinore between 25 April and 25 Oct., 1627.
2. Alexander Clark, 16—. Died 13 Sept., 1635.
3. George Munro, ord. after 3 April, 1638. Demitted for want of maintenance after 3 June, 1640.
4. John Annand, above mentioned, re-trans. from Kinore, 1640. Trans. to 1st charge in 1645.
5. Duncan M'Culloch, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. in 1645. Trans. to Urquhart and Glenmoriston bet. 6 April and 5 Oct., 1647.
6. William Fraser, ord. before 3 April, 1649. Died 22 Nov., 1659.
7. James Sutherland, ord. before 3 April, 1660. Trans. to 1st charge.
8. Alexander Clerk, trans. from Latheron. Adm. in April, 1663. Trans to 1st charge in 1674.

9. Gilbert Marshall, trans. from Cromdale. Adm. 9 Sept., 1674. Died 26 Feb., 1691, aged about 46.
N.B.—John M'Gilligan, of Alness, late min. of Fodderty, preached some time after liberty was given to the Presbyterians, but was not settled. Died 8 June, 1869.
- Alexander Sutherland, chaplain to Livingston's Regt., was called 30 Aug., 1691, but neither was he adm.
- Wm. Stuart likewise officiated, but was called to Kiltearn in 1693.
- James Fraser, of Brea, min. of Culross, also officiated for a considerable time, was called in Sept., 1696, and requested to get one of the Churches for himself, 8 Nov., 1698, but did not get possession, and cont. in his charge at Culross.
10. Robert Baillie, trans. from Lamington. Adm. after 28 Feb., 1701. Died of consumption 11 Feb., 1726. Got calls from Keith in 1699, Gladsmuir in 1710, London in 1711, and Rotherdam in 1714 and again in 1724.
11. Alexander Fraser, trans. from Urquhart and Logie Wester. Adm. 4 April, 1727. Died 6 May, 1750, in his 76th year.
12. Murdoch M'Kenzie, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 5 Feb., 1751. Trans. to 1st charge 10 March, 1763.
13. Alexander Fraser, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 1763. Died 12 Jan., 1778, aged about 69.
14. George Watson, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 7 July, 1778. Died 5 Feb., 1798, aged about 63.
15. Alexander Fraser, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 3 July, 1798. Trans. to 1st charge 3 March, 1801.
16. Alexander Rose, trans. from 3rd charge. Adm. 7 April, 1801. D.D. Edinburgh, 23 Dec., 1825. Demitted 5 March, 1850.
17. Donald M'Donald, assist. and success. 1842. Trans. to 1st charge, 1852.
18. Alexander M'Gregor, adm. 1853.

Third Charge

Was erected in 1641 in consequence of the Minister of the Second Charge not having Gaelic.

1. Duncan M'Culloch, ord. prior to 4 Oct., 1642. Trans. to 2nd charge in 1645.
2. William Stuart, trans. from Kiltearn. Adm. after 9 April, 1705. Trans. to 1st charge 4 April, 1727.
3. Alexander M'Bean, trans. from Douglas. Adm. 6 Dec., 1720. Trans. to 1st charge 4 April 1727.
4. Daniel M'Kenzie, trans. from Petty. Adm. 10 Oct., 1727. Died 21 March, 1730, aged about 49. This was his 6th cure.
5. William Baillie, son of the Rev. Robert B. of the 2nd charge, ord. 22 July, 1731. Died 17 May, 1739, in his 35th year.
6. Murdoch M'Kenzie, trans. from Dingwall. Adm. 13 July, 1741. Trans. to 2nd charge 5 Feb., 1751.
7. James Grant, son of the Rev. George G., of Kirkmichael, ord. 14 April, 1752. Died unmarried 14 Dec., same year.

8. Alexander Fraser, trans. from Avoch. Adm. 13 Nov., 1754. Trans. to 2nd charge in 1763.
9. Robert Rose, ord. 27 Sept., 1763. Trans. to 1st charge 4 Dec., 1774.
10. George Watson, trans. from Kiltearn. Adm. 20 Dec., 1775. Trans. to 2nd charge 7 April, 1778.
11. Alexander Fraser, ord. 22 Sept., 1778. Trans. to 2nd charge 3 July, 1798.
12. Alexander Rose, adm. 18 Sept., 1798. Trans. to 2nd charge 7 April, 1801.
13. Thomas Fraser, adm. 15 Dec., 1801. Trans. to 1st charge 6 Nov., 1821.
14. Alexander Clark, schoolmaster at Alves. Ord. 21 March, 1822. Trans. to 1st charge 17 June, 1834.
15. Robert Macpherson, ord. 23 Sept., 1834. Died at Ventnor, 6 Oct., 1841, in his 32nd year.
16. Simon M'Intosh, adm. 1842. Trans. 1843.
17. Donald M'Connachie, adm. 1844. Trans. 1848.
18. Hugh M'Kenzie, adm. 1848. Died 1860.
19. Duncan Stewart, adm. 1860. Trans. 1862.
20. John Stewart, adm. 1862. Died 1870.
21. Peter Robertson, adm. 1871. Trans. 1874.
22. Lachlan MacLachlan, adm. 1874. Trans. 1877.
23. David Cameron, adm. 1878. Trans. 1879.
24. Charles MacEchern, adm. 1879.

Chapel of Ease or East Church.

Erected in 1798, became a *Quoad Sacra* Parish by the Act of Assembly
31 May, 1834.

1. Ronald Bayne, formerly of the Chapel of Ease, Elgin, entered prior to 4 Aug., 1800. Prom. to Kiltarlity 5 May, 1808.
2. Donald Martin, min. of Kilmuir, Skye, elected 14 July, 1808. Prom. to Abernethy 15 Aug., 1820.
3. Robert Findlater, son of R. F., merchant, Drummond, Kiltearn, ord. as miss. at Lochtayside. Entered 31 May, 1821. [Died 7 Sept., 1832, in his 47th year.]
4. Finlay Cook, min. of Cross, Lewis, entered in Nov., 1833. Trans. to Reay, 7 July, 1835.
5. David Campbell, trans. from Glenlyon. Adm. 17 Nov. 1836. Trans. to Tarbat, 30 Aug., 1838.

North Church.

Erected as an extension or *Quoad Sacra* Parish.

Archibald Cook, ord. as miss. at Berriedale or Bruan. Adm. 31 Aug., 1837. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption. Became min. of the Free Church, Daviot, in 1844. Died 6 May, 1865, in his 75th year.]

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

First Church (now extinct).

This congregation originated in the itineracies of the Rev. Mr. Buchanan of Nigg, about the year 1780.

1. *Æneas M'Bean, ord. 31 Nov., 1790, suspended from office 27th April, 1810, and died in 1824. The congregation became extinct in 1810.*

Union Street.

Twenty persons formerly connected with the First Congregation, Inverness, formed a second, by applying for and obtaining supply of sermon from the General Associate (Antiburgher) Presbytery of Elgin, in 1817. Church built 1821; sittings, 650. A new Church was built in Union Street in 1864, containing sittings for 700, at a cost of £3,000.

1. James Scott, D.D., from Pitcairngreen, ord. 21 March, 1821. D.D. from Monmouth College, Illinois, in Sep., 1871.
2. George Robson, M.A. from Glasgow (Wellington Street), of which his father was minister. Called to Dennyloanhead and Inverness. Ord. at Inverness, as colleague to Mr. Scott, 14 Nov., 1866.

Queen Street.

1. Alexander Munro, ord. 9 July, 1833, as Gaelic miss., and inducted 8 March, 1842. Died 13 Dec., 1854.

The congregation was for some years supplied by Mr. Adam Gordon, miss. Died in 1871.

2. Donald Ross, from Nigg, ord. 22 Aug., 1860. Died 20 July, 1871.

A call was given in April, 1872, to Rev. Alexander C. M'Donald, late of Thanesford, Canada, which the Synod set aside.

ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL, INVERNESS.

In Oct., 1866, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Longley) laid the foundation stone, in the presence of about 70 Bishops and Clergy, and an immense concourse of people. On 1 Sep., 1869, the Cathedral was opened for Divine Service, when six Bishops were present, among whom were Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, and Bishop Cloughton of Rochester, who preached at the morning and evening services respectively. The Cathedral was consecrated by the Primus on Michaelmas Day, 1874, 6 other Bishops being present and about 36 Clergy. The Bishop of Derry (Dr. Alexander), preached in the morning, and Bishop Douglas of Bombay at Evensong.

The following Clergy have held office in the Cathedral:—

Henry Clarke Powell, M.A. of Oriel College, Oxford, Provost from 1869-1877.

William Roughhead, M.A. of Trin. Coll., Cambridge, Canon from 1869-1874.

Edward Shuttleworth Medley, B.A. of Univ. of Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canon and Precentor in 1877.

Frederic Dobrec Teesdale, M.A. of New Coll., Oxford, Head Master of the College, Inverness, Canon 1875-1881.

Ernest Thoysts, M.A. of Oriel Coll., Oxford, Canon 1879-1881.

Assistant Clergy.

Robert Allan Eden, M.A. of Christ Ch., Oxford, 1869-1871, and again in 1881.

Henry Ley Greaves, M.A. of St. Cath. Coll., Cambridge, 1876-1879.

Durris, a parsonage in the gift of the Prior of Urquhart, and now the Laird of Calder, is patron by a Disposition from Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Urquhart in 1610. The stipend is 48 bolls of meal, 650 merks, with 50 merks for Communion Elements. The school is legal. Examinable persons are about 1100.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. James Dow [Duff ?], reader in Durris and Boleskin in 1567.
2. [Soul or Souerane M'Phail, reader from 1574 to 1580.]
3. Andrew M'Phail, trans. from Kingussie, having Boleskine also in charge. Cont. in 1601. Removed to Boleskine prior to 1607.]
4. Alexander Thomson, min. at Durris 1617. [Adm. prior to 30 May. Subsequently at Daviot.]
5. Patrick Dunbar, min. in 1613. Died in 1658 [aged about 63.]
6. William Cummine, ord. in 1663 [prior to 3 April], trans. in 1664. [Subsequently at Halkirk.]
7. James Smith, ord. in March [prior to 3 April], 1666, demitted in 1682, on account of the Test. [Died at Edinburgh, 23 Nov., 1718, aged about 80.]
8. Thomas Fraser [brother to the Laird of Belladrum] ord. privately. Adm. 11 March, 1683. Died in May, 1729 [3 March.]
9. Archibald Bannatyne, from Ardchattan, adm. 14 Sep., 1731. Died 20 June, 1752.
10. John Grant, miss. at Fort-Augustus, ord. 1 May, 1753. [Died unmarried 17 November, 1784, aged 59.]
11. [John M'Kilican, a native of Croy, miss. in the parish of Boleskine, and also at Fort-Augustus. Adm. 23 Sep., 1785. Died 13 June, 1819, aged about 75.]

12. Alexander Campbell, teacher in Inverness Academy in 1818, ord. 28 March, 1820. Trans. to Croy 12 June, 1823.
13. David Fraser, promoted from Rothesay Chapel of Ease, adm. 25 Sep., 1823. Trans. to Nigg, Ross-shire, 29 March, 1843. Died 8 June, 1865, in his 71st year.
14. Peter M'Naughton, adm. 1844. Resigned 1846.
15. Ewen M'Kenzie, adm. 1846, Trans. 1848.
16. James M'Naughton, adm. 1848.

Kirkhill, formerly the parishes of Wardlaw and Fearnua, a parsonage dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This Church stood formerly at Dunbalach, a mile up the river, and was dedicated to St. Maurice. I have seen, in the hands of Mr. Fraser of Dunbalach, a Papal Bull, dated anno 1210, for translating the Church of Mauritius from Dunbalach [Dunbathlach] to Wardlaw.

Wardlaw parish made the west end of the present parish, and Fearnua (in Irish *Eagluis Fear-naic*, so called either from some legendary saint, or from Fearn, *i.e.*, "The Alder-tree," which abounds there) made the east end; and they were united in 1618. Lord Lovate was, and the King now is, patron.

The stipend is, including Element money, 56 bolls, half bear and half meal, 400 merks, and vicarage worth 150 merks. The school is legal.

The number of Examinable persons is 800.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. Sir William (an ecclesiastic Knight) Dow Fraser at Wardlaw, died about 1588. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
2. Donald Dow Frazer at Wardlaw [1574] from 1589 to 1600. [Kilmorack and Kintallartie being also in the charge. Trans. from Kilchrist about 1530. Ret. prior to 1590. Abertarff is attached in 1599, after which his name disappears.]

3. Andrew MacPhail at Fernua anno 1589. Died about 1606. [Noticed below under Farnua.]
 4. Bartholomew Robertson [trans. from Lhanbryde. Adm. prior to 1603] at Wardlaw, from 1601 to 1610.
 5. John Houston, ord. in 1611. Died in Dec., 1659.
 6. James Fraser [of Phoppachie, son of Wm. F., M.D.] ord. in 1661. Died in Oct., 1709 [aged about 75.]
 7. Robert Thomson, from Clyne, adm. 22 April, 1717. [Proposed for the parish of Rafford in 1728.] Died 30 April, 1770 [in his 85th year.]
- [N.B.—George Mark, pres. in 1770. Objected to for deficiency of Gaelic.]
8. Alexander Fraser [son of the Rev. Donald F. of Urquhart and Logie Wester], ord. May 5, 1773. [D.D., Aberdeen, Sep., 1801. Died 13 Jan., 1802, in his 53rd year.]
 9. [Donald Fraser, son of the former, ord. 28 Sep., 1802. Died 12 July, 1836, in his 54th year.]
 10. Alexander Fraser, trans. from Cawdor, adm. 26 Jan., 1837. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption.
 11. Alex. M'Naughton, adm. 1843. Resigned 1847.
 12. Ewen M'Kenzie, adm. 1848.

Farnua.

1. [Andrew Brabnie, or Braboner, *alias* M'Phail, was exhorter at Pettie and Brathollie in 1567. Pres. to the parsonage of this parish by James VI., 18 June, 1569. Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and Bonoch were also in the charge in 1574. Died prior to 6 Nov., 1575.]
2. Andrew M'Phail, reader at Petty and Brachlie in 1574. Pres. to the parsonage by James VI. 6 Nov., 1575, and also to the vicarage 22 April, 1581. Trans. to Kingussie same year.]

Kiltarlty and *Conveth* seem to have been distinct parishes, but how early united I find not. Conveth was a vicarage depending on the Priory of Beaulie. Kiltarlty, a parsonage dedicated to St. Thalargus. Lord Lovat was, and the King now is, patron. The stipend, by decree in 1635, is 48 bolls meal, 300 merks, 400 merks vicarage, and 30 merks for Communion Elements. [New Kirk built in 1829.] The salary of the school is legal. Examinable persons are 1600.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. [Robert Makrudder, reader and vicar, from 1574. Died in 1575.]
2. John Wright, reader, from 1576 to 1591.]
3. William Fraser [adm. prior to 13 April] in 1624. Died in winter, 1665 [after 3 Oct.]
4. Hugh Fraser, ord. in 1667. Died about 1708. [Cont. after the Revolution. Died prior to 19 Sep., 1716, in his 73rd year.]
5. Patrick Nicolson, ord. 16 July [8 Aug.], 1716. [Called to Strath and Sleat 18 Sep., 1722, but declined.] Died 7 March, 1761.
6. Malcolm Nicolson [youngest son of the former], ord. 24 Sep., 1761. [Died 4 Jan., 1791, in his 55th year.]
7. [John Fraser, prom. from the Gaelic Chapel, Glasgow. Adm. 10 May, 1792. Died 21 June, 1800, aged about 50.]
8. Peter Grant, trans. from Inverness, adm. 23 Dec., 1800. Died 12 June, 1807, aged 74.
9. Ronald Bayne, prom. from Inverness Chapel of Ease, adm. 5 May, 1808. D.D. Aberdeen, 2 July, 1809. Died 31 Jan., 1821, aged about 66.
10. Colin Fraser, miss. at Brae-Badenoch, Brae-Lochaber, and Fort-Augustus, Adm. 8 May, 1823. Died 8 August, 1853, in his 71st year.
11. David Ross, adm. 1855.

PRESBYTERY OF ABERTARF.

Urquhart and Glenmoriston. The former is a parsonage dedicated to St. Mary, and the other was a Chapel dedicated to St. Richard. Urquhart was always dependent on, and in the gift of the Chancellor of Moray, and now the Laird of Grant as patron of Inveravon, the seat of the Chancellor, acts as patron of Urquhart. Attempts have been made to unite Glenmoriston and Abertarf into one parish, but have failed for want of a maintenance. The stipend of Urquhart is 800 merks, and 50 merks for Communion Elements. There is no school. The number of Examinable persons is about 1600.

The Protestant Ministers are:—

1. [James Forrester, exhorter in 1567.]
2. James Farquharson, exhorter, 1568. [Omitted in Dr. Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
3. [John M'Allan 1586. Cont. in 1591.]
4. Alexander Grant [adm. prior to 13 April] in 1624. Died in 1645 [aged about 54.]
5. Duncan M'Culloch, from [2nd charge] Inverness, adm. [between 6 April and 6 Oct.] 1647. Deposed [same date] 1658. Reponed [before 26 April] 1664, and demitted [after 1 Oct.] 1670.
6. James Grant, ord. 10 April, 1673. Trans. to Abernethie [Inverness-shire] in 1685 [after 15 Nov.]
7. Robert Munro, ord. in 1676 to Glenmoriston and Abertarf. Died about 1688. [Omitted by Dr. H. Scott.]
8. Robert Cummie, privately ord., adm. 24 Oct., 1686. Died in 1729 [between 14 Jan. and 3 April, 1730, aged about 70.]
9. William Gordon [*alias* M'Gregor, schoolmaster at Kingussie, catechist in Laggan] ord. 24 December, 1730. Trans. to Alvie [1 Aug.] 1739.
10. John Grant, ord. [at Kilmore 14 Jan., 1741. Died 8 Dec., 1792.]
11. [James Grant, nephew of the former, ord. (assistant and successor) 13 May, 1777. Died at Elgin 15 Oct., 1798, in his 43rd year.]
12. James Fowler, miss. at Fort-Augustus, adm. 26 March, 1799. Died 25 May, 1814, in his 55th year.
13. James Doune Smith, son of the Rev. Wm. S. of Petty, miss. at Grantown. Adm. 20 April, 1815. Died 27 June, 1847, in his 66th year.
14. Donald M'Connachie, adm. 1848.
15. John Cameron, adm. 1864.

Boleskin and *Abertarf* were distinct parishes. I find Gilibrude Parsona de Abertarf, before the year 1216. James Dow, vicar, sold the vicarage of Abertarf to the tutor of Lovate, about the year 1570, and for want of a living, Abertarf was annexed to Boleskin [14 July, 1614, at least prior to 1618.] In 1676 it was disjoined from Boleskin, and ecclesiastically united with Glenmoriston; but the civil sanction was not obtained, and therefore Abertarf was again annexed to

Boleskin about the year 1688. Lord Lovate was, and the Crown now is, patron. The stipend, about 1764, was augmented to 1300 merks. [New Kirk built in 1777.] There is no school. Examinable persons are 1150.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. James Dow [or Duff], exhorter in Durris, Boleskin, and Abertarf [Londichtie, Daviot, Tallaracie, and Moy] 1569 [1574. Cont. in 1580.]
2. [Andrew M'Phail, trans. from Dorres, having also in charge Moy, Dacus, and Lundichtie, 1607. Died 7 July, 1608.]
3. Andrew Dow Fraser, from Moy, adm. about 1624. Murdered by the Irishes 1646 [between 2 April, 1644, and 6 Oct., 1646, at the instigation of some of his parishioners, because he obtained an order for a legal glebe.]
4. Thomas Houston, ord. [between 5 Oct., 1647, and 4 April] in 1648. Died about 1704.
5. John Morison, from Glenelg, adm. [3 Dec.] 1706. Trans. to Urray in 1710 [to Gairloch 2 Jan., 1711.]
6. Thomas Fraser, ord. in March, 1714 [25 Nov., 1713.] Died 10 Feb., 1766.
7. Patrick Grant, from Daviot [and Dunlichty], adm. 1770 [10 May. Trans. to Inverness 12 Aug., 1800.]
8. William Fraser, miss at Fort-William, adm. 25 Nov., 1800. Died 7 June, 1840, aged 77.
9. Donald Chisholm, adm. 1840.
10. Malcolm M'Intyre, adm. 1859.

Laggan, a mensal Church dedicated to St. Kenneth. The Bishop was patron and settled the parish *jure proprio*. Now the King is properly patron, and the family of Gordon has no act of possession. This parish was sometimes by the Bishop annexed to Alvie, that he might draw the more teinds from it. Mr. James Lyle served long in both parishes, and, it is said, understood not the Irish language, such penury was there of Ministers having that language. Upon his de-

mitting, the parishes were disjoined, but were again united [by Murdoch M'Kenzie, Bishop of Moray] in 1672, and so continued to the death of Mr. Thomas MacPherson. [It was again disjoined and re-erected in 1708.] About the year 1767 the stipend was augmented to 1260 merks. [New Kirk rebuilt in 1785.] There is no school. The number of Examinable persons is 1100.

The Protestant Ministers are :—

1. Alexander Clark, exhorter in 1569. [Entered reader at Lammas 1569. Exhorter in Nov. Pres. to the parsonage and vicarage by James VI. 27 Sep., 1574. Died prior to 6 Nov., 1575.]
2. [John Dow M'Quhondoquhy, reader at Lundichtie and Daviot in Nov., 1569. Pres. to the parsonage and vicarage by James VI. 6 Nov., 1575. Cont. in 1589.]
3. James Lyle, min. of Laggan and Alvie, long before 1624. Demitted for age in 1626. [Formerly of Ruthven.]
4. Alexander Clark [adm. prior to 3 April] in 1638. Deposed [before 5 Oct.] 1647. [Master of the Grammar School of Kingussie in 1652.]
5. James Dick, ord. to Laggan and Alvie [prior to 4 Oct.] 1653. Deposed [by the Bp. and brethren for drunkenness 15 Nov.] 1665.
6. [William Robertson, adm. prior to 1 Oct., 1667. Trans. to Crathie and Kindrocht or Braemar after 6 April, 1669.]
7. Thomas MacPherson, in 1672. [Omitted by Dr. Hew Scott in his *Fasti Ecc. Scot.*]
8. John Mackenzie, from Kingussie, adm. [prior to 31 May] 1700. Died in 1745 [27 April.]
9. Duncan MacPherson [miss. at Glenroy, &c. Trans. to Mull in Oct., 1744.] Ord. April [adm. 16 Sep.], 1747. Died 13 Aug., 1757 [aged about 46.]
10. Andrew Gallie [a native of the parish of Tarbat, miss. at Fort-Augustus. Adm.] 6 Sep., 1758. [Trans. to Kincardine, Ross-shire, 18 Aug., 1774.]
11. [James Grant, miss. at Fort-Augustus, adm. 20 Sep., 1775. Died 3 Dec., 1801.]
12. John Matheson, miss at Badenoch and Lochaber 19 Sep., 1791, ord. 3 April, 1792, as assist. to the Rev. Alex. Watt of Forres, on whose death he went back to his former mission. Adm. 11 Aug., 1802. Died 1 Dec., 1808, in his 49th year.
13. Duncan M'Intyre, a native of Fort-William, miss. here or at Maryburgh 13 July, 1784. Subsequently miss. at Kilmuir, in Skye, at Laggan and Glennurchy, and at Glencoe 7 Aug., 1806. Adm. 7 Sep., 1809. Trans. to Kilmalie 26 March, 1816.

14. William Robertson, miss. at Fort-William, adm. 3 Sep., 1816. Trans. to Kinloss 19 June.
15. George Shepherd, son of Thomas S., farmer, Fordyce, a native of Rathven, schoolmaster at Kingussie, miss. at Fort-William. Adm. 16 Nov., 1818. Trans. to Kingussie and Inch 11 May, 1825.
16. Macintosh Mackay, son of Capt. Alex. M. of Duarbeg, schoolmaster at Portree, ord. 27 Sep., 1825. LL.D. Glasgow 1829. Trans. to Dunoon and Kilmun 22 March, 1832. Joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption. Elected Moderator of the Free General Assembly, 24 May, 1849. Sailed for Australia in 1853. Adm. to Melbourne Gaelic Church in 1854. Also to a congregation at Sydney in 1856. Returned to Scotland in 1861. Admitted to the Free Church, Tarbert, Harris, in 1862.
17. Donald Cameron, schoolmaster at Southend in 1815, and admonished for cruelty to the scholars, by the Presbytery, 28 June, 1816. Ord. as miss. at Glengairn 31 March, 1824. Adm. 1 Aug., 1832. Died 19 April, 1846, in his 54th year.
18. William Sutherland, adm. 1846.
19. John M'Leod, adm. 1851.
20. Donald M'Fadyen, adm. 1869.

The number of Catechisable persons, of seven or eight years of age and upwards, as contained in the above account, is	- - - - -	57,678
To which, if, for children under that age, we add one fifth more, viz.,	- - - - -	11,535
The number of souls in this Province is	- - - - -	69,213

I cannot say that this number is strictly exact, but if there be any error, it must be but small.

4th.—THE STATE OF RELIGION IN THIS PROVINCE FROM THE REFORMATION.

I shall now conclude these Collections, with a succinct account of the state of Religion in this Province, from the Reformation anno 1560, to this time.

How early the first dawning of the Reformation of religion appeared in Scotland, I will not pretend to determine. It cannot be denied, that

the Keledees remained in this kingdom in the beginning of the 14th century; and it may be supposed, that the purity of doctrine and worship, and the simplicity of government maintained by them, were the seeds of the Reformation in this kingdom.

Be this as it will, it is certain that the scandalous schism in the Church of Rome, of a long continued series of Anti-Popes, and the gross corruption both of the doctrine and manners that everywhere prevailed, were the more immediate causes of the downfall of Popery.

In every age, from the days of the Apostles, there were some who openly maintained the pure doctrines of Christianity. In the 12th century, the Waldenses and Albigenses made an avowed secession from the Romish Church. The barbarous persecution of these faithful witnesses, long continued, verified, "That the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church." Their doctrine spread through many kingdoms of Europe, and in England John Wickliff openly taught it in the 14th century, and his disciples carried it into Germany and France, and no doubt into Scotland. In England, the Reformation began right early, in the reign of King Henry VIII., anno 1533, by renouncing the Pope's authority. And in 1542, many of the Scots nobility and gentry being made, or rather surrendering themselves, prisoners at Solway Moss, and remaining

in England for some time, upon their return to Scotland, openly favoured the Reformation, encouraged the preachers of it, and it soon spread into the several counties. Before that time, even in 1407, John Roseby, and in 1432, Paul Craw, were publicly burnt for their opposition to the Church of Rome. In 1527, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Fern in Ross, a man of noble birth, was burnt by Bishop [Cardinal] Beaton. It cannot be doubted, that this eminent martyr propagated the Reformed doctrine in Ross, and in the neighbouring counties. The cruelty of his death, and of the death of Mr. George Wishart, son to Pitarrow, in 1545, rendered Popery odious, and induced the people everywhere to favour the Reformation.

Although I have not met with particular instances of gentlemen or others, in the Province of Moray, who had embraced the Protestant principles before the year 1560; yet I question not but there were many such. For in the Parliament that year, which abolished Popery, and established the Reformation, William Innes of Innes, John Grant of Grant, William Sutherland of Duffus, and a commissioner from the town of Inverness, were members, and concurred in that good work. (*Keith's History*). And by the above Catalogue of Protestant Ministers, it appears, that, before the year 1570, almost all the parishes in the Diocese of Moray had Protestant teachers,

and a Protestant Bishop with a formal Chapter was settled in 1573-4.

From the Reformation downward, no county in the north, and few, if any, in the south, adhered more firmly to the Protestant principles, even in the worst of times, than did the inhabitants of Moray; insomuch that, except what influence the family of Gordon had (of which afterwards), Popery has found no countenance among them. And, although in time of Prelacy, the people behaved with due subjection to Civil authority, yet they never could be brought to a cheerful submission to Prelatic power, but joined in throwing off that yoke at different periods. The ministers banished by King James VI. to the north, and particularly Mr. Robert Bruce, who was banished to Inverness anno 1604, and remained there four years, contributed to confirm the people in Protestant and Presbyterian principles.

In 1638, the people of Moray heartily concurred in opposing the liturgy, the canons, the ecclesiastic commission, and the order of Bishops. Messrs. William Falconer at Dyke, John Hay at Rafford, David Dunbar at Edinkylie, John Howeson at Wardlaw, Patrick Dunbar at Durris, ministers; William Ross of Clava, John Dunbar, Bailiff of Forres, James Fraser of Brae, and Robert Bailie, Bailiff of Inverness, ruling elders, were members of that Assembly. And Messrs.

John Gordon at Elgin, and John Guthrie, at Duffus, ministers, were, October 25, 1638, elected commissioners from the Presbytery of Elgin, to that Assembly, and Mr. Gordon was present in it, though omitted in the roll. (*Reg. Presbytery of Elgin*). That Assembly having deposed and excommunicated, among others, the Bishop of Moray, the clergy of his diocese who had vowed canonical obedience, and of whom some were ordained by him, intimated the sentence from their pulpits; and the laity rejoiced in being delivered from ecclesiastic denomination. In the subsequent Assemblies of the Church, Innes of Innes, Brodie of Brodie, Brodie of Lethen, Fraser of Brae, &c., are found to have been members.

All ranks in the Province signed the National Covenant, and the Solemn League; some with cheerfulness, and many, to avoid the direful censures of the Church. In the civil commotions, not improperly called, "The Bishop's War," the people, in general, except the vassals and dependents of the Marquis of Huntly and the Roman Catholics, joined the Covenanters at first. But in 1648, when they thought, that not so much religion, as monarchy and the civil constitution were in danger, then the Frasers, MacIntoshes, Roses, Inneses, &c., joined in the expedition called "The Duke's Engagement," and after the defeat at Preston, the Churches were filled with

mock penitents. The King being cut off in 1649, and his son Charles II. being called home from Breda, and crowned, both Church and State became infatuated. The King raised an army, which was routed at Worcester in September, 1651, and many gentlemen in Moray suffered much in this ill conducted expedition into England. At the same time, the Church split into parties, and made a breach not yet fully healed up.

The King had three several times sworn the covenants; but many very justly questioned his sincerity. The Covenanters being defeated at Dunbar in 1650, Cromwell began at Edinburgh, and having that Castle in his hands, the courtiers laboured, that all capable of serving their country might be received into the army, and not be hindered or deterred by church censures. Against this a body of gentlemen, military officers, and ministers remonstrated, and directed a subscribed remonstrance to the committee of estates, “advising them to adhere to the King, only in defence of religion and liberty, and if he shall forsake the counsels of the Church and State, and be guided by malignants, that he be removed from the exercise of government.” The committee of estates, in November, 1650, condemned that Paper as scandalous: and at the same time, the Commission of the General Assembly first approved, but afterwards, by Court influence, condemned the remonstrance, which made several ministers enter

a dissent. The King persuaded the same Commission to meet at Perth, *pro re nata*, on December 14, that year, and the Parliament asked them a solution of this question, “What persons shall be admitted to take arms against the sectaries, and in what capacity?” To which they answered: “That all fencible persons, except the excommunicated, forfeited, and professed enemies to the covenants, may be employed.” The same Commission met on December 26, and then many protested against this resolution, because it encouraged the enemies of religion, and put it in the power of the King and his courtiers to overturn all that had been contended for since the year 1637. Hence came the opposite parties of resolutioners and protesters, who, by impudently meddling with the affairs of the Civil Government, and by their fierce animosities, occasioned the change of Church government.

In the year 1651, the same Commission of the Church met in April, and gave it as their opinion, that the Parliament might admit into public offices, and places of trust, all subjects, provided the guilty did undergo Church censures. Upon this mock penitents crowded into the Church; those called *malignants* soon got into offices and posts; and the protesters loudly complained, that a door was opened to infidelity, irreligion, and profaneness. But the resolutioners would maintain what they had done, and meeting in May

24th in commission, required all Presbyteries to cite to the ensuing Assembly, all who should oppose the Resolutions.

The General Assembly met on 16th July, at St. Andrews; but because of the civil tumults soon removed to Dundee. Twenty-one members protested against the freeness and legality of the meeting, because by the conduct of the Commission in May, there could be no free election, all protesters being under citation. Yet the Assembly condemned the Remonstrance, approved the Resolutions, condemned the Protesters, deposed three, and suspended one of them, and ordered all Presbyteries to ask the opinion of their members concerning the Remonstrance, the Resolutions, and the lawfulness of this Assembly. This kindled a flame in almost every Synod and Presbytery.

In the Province of Moray, the Synod met *pro re nata*, on November 13th, 1651, and approved of the meeting of last Assembly. But Messrs. John Brodie at Aldern, Joseph Brodie at Forres, William Fraser at Inverness, James Park at Urquhart, and Patrick Glas at Edinkylie, ministers, with Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, Alexander Brodie of Brodie, and Hugh Campbell of Auchindune, elders, protested against this, because that Assembly was not free or regular in the election of its members, and several things done in it were, in their opinion, dishonouring to

God, and contrary to the covenants and the engagement. Thus was the Province split into parties; but the Synod promised to treat the protesting members with all brotherly love and benevolence. The kingdom being now under the feet of usurpers, General Assemblies being by them discharged, and Synods and Presbyteries often interrupted, a social and friendly intercourse was, at least seemingly, kept up in this province for some years. But in the Synod of Moray, met in October, 1660, a copy of King Charles II.'s Jesuitical letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh was read. I call this letter *Jesuitical*, because the King promised "to maintain inviolate the government of the Church as established by law." Although it was resolved to overturn it; and in a few months the Act Recissory was passed in Parliament, rescinding, repealing, and annulling all acts made in Parliament Convention or Assembly, since the year 1633, and so leaving the government of the Church what it was that year 1633. An equivocation unworthy of a King or a Christian. That letter being read, the Synod observed, that the King promised, to cause the authority of the Assembly 1651 to stand in force. Upon this they instantly, in a mean and base strain of adulation, persecuted their brethren, contrary to their former promise. Mr. Patrick Glas, the only minister now living who had protested in 1651, was sharply rebuked, and made

to sign a recantation, which was recorded. And Sir Ludovick Gordon of Gordonston, Alexander Brodie of Brodie, and Hugh Campbell, protesters, with Alexander Brodie of Lethen, Patrick Campbell of Boath, John Niccolson, James Buchan, William Alves in Forres, and Robert Watson in Rafford, elders, who had approved of the protestations, were all deposed in absence. This was both unjust and ungenerous, to expose their brethren, as much as they could, to the King's resentment.

But now the design of re-establishing Prelacy, was communicated to some of the clergy, and the Synod, met 2nd July, 1661, sent an address to the Earl of Middleton, the King's Commissioner in Parliament, in which they did not once mention the Protestant religion, or Presbyterian Church government. Nay, it is apparent, that they had already privately agreed, to approve of the intended change; for Mr. Murdo MacKenzie, minister at Elgin, who was to be one of the new Bishops, was sent up with the address, that he might receive the Rochet; and the Synod set up, what in Divine worship was looked on as the badge of Episcopacy, I mean the *Gloria Patri*, and parents repeating the Apostles' Creed at the baptism of their children.

The transition from one extreme to another is easy; but it is difficult to stop in a just medium. This was apparent upon the Restoration in 1660.

Under the former period, the clergy ran into a wild extreme, of meddling with, and managing, all matters, civil, ecclesiastic, criminal, and military, and the language of their conduct, and of many of the laity, was, “bind your King with chains, and your nobles with fetters.” Now they ran into the opposite extreme. All power, civil and ecclesiastic, was lodged in the King. He was declared absolute. Christ’s right, as Head of the Church, was yielded up to him, and all became abject slaves to his will.

Prelacy being restored in 1662, the King proposed to revive General Assemblies, and the Parliament drew up a form of their constitution. But the Bishops could not bear such a check, and the project was dropt. Diocesan Synods and Presbyteries were kept up, and the new Bishops lost no time in prosecuting Non-conformists. Messrs. George Innes at Dipple, and Harrie Forbes at Aldern, prevented deposition, by demitting their charges in 1633. And Messrs. Thomas Urquhart at Essil, James Urquhart at Kinloss, and George Meldrum at Glass, were that year deposed; as was Mr. Alexander Fraser at Daviot, in 1672; and all the rest conformed. Some ministers from Ross, as Messrs. James Fraser of Brae, Thomas Hogg, Thomas Ross, John MacGilligin, &c., were often driven into Moray, and joining the Non-conformists there, performed Gospel-ministrations in private,

and were much regarded and protected by the gentry. The Bishops of Moray were more moderate than other Bishops; yet these ministers were informed against; most of them were inter-communed, apprehended, and kept long prisoners in the Bass, and in other places.

The gentlemen of the country, and the common people by their example and influence, behaved with much prudence, gave no umbrage to the civil powers; and though they protected the persecuted clergy, yet they discouraged field preaching; by which means, both the ministers, and their hearers in private houses, were the less exposed to troubles. The houses of the Lairds of Innes, Grant, Kilravock, Brodie, Lethen, the Sheriff of Moray, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder, were so many sanctuaries to the oppressed. The last mentioned gentleman, was, at one time, bail in £1500 sterling for prosecuted ministers. In a word, for twenty years after the Restoration, by the prudence and piety of families of distinction, Moray enjoyed more peace than other countries, and Religion flourished greatly.

The imposing the Test, in 1681, opened a new scene of troubles. Thereby they swore, "To own and adhere to the Confession of Faith recorded in Parliament 1567, and to disown all principles or practices contrary to the Protestant religion and the said Confession. That the

King is the only supreme governor in all causes, civil and ecclesiastic. That it is unlawful for subjects, upon any pretence, to enter into Covenants and Leagues, or to convene in any Assemblies to treat of any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastic, without his majesty's express licence; or to take up arms against the King, or those commissioned by him: not to endeavour any change or alteration in the government, in Church or State as now established: never to decline his majesty's power or jurisdiction, &c." A strange medley of Erastianism, and contradiction; to maintain the Protestant religion, and to bring in a Popish successor; to swear in the Confession, that Christ is the only King of the Church, and yet that the King is the only supreme; to allow any one having the King's commission, to cut all the throats in the kingdom; not to convene to preaching or praying, &c. !

Mr. Colin Falconer, Bishop of Moray, and the clergy of his Diocese, met at Elgin in December, 1681; and ministers, schoolmasters, and students in Divinity, swore the Test, with the Council's explication allowed by the King: viz.—

1. That they did not swear to every proposition in the Confession of Faith, but only to the true Protestant religion, in opposition to Popery and fanaticism.

2. That there is reserved entire to the Bishops

and Pastors, all the intrinsic spiritual power of the Church, and the preaching of the Word, ordination of pastors, &c., as in the three first centuries.

3. That this oath is no prejudice to the Episcopal government of the Church now established by law. An explication so poor, that rather than comply with it, the following ministers quitted their charges, viz.: Messrs. James Stewart at Inveravon, Alexander Marshall at Dipple, William Geddes at Urquhart, James Horn at Elgin, Alexander Cumming at Dallas, James Smith at Durris, William Speed at Botrifnie, and John Cumming at Aldern. This last gentleman did subscribe the Test; but, upon reflection, chose to demit in 1682; and being a pious and peaceable man, he was settled at Cullen; and, by the favour of the Earl of Findlater, lived undisturbed. The conduct of the clergy, in so readily complying in this point, very much sullied their characters.

Few of the gentlemen of this Province had posts or offices that obliged them to take this oath. But it was soon made a test of loyalty in all ranks. And to drive the people into a full conformity to Church and State, or to ruin them if they became recusants, justiciary courts were appointed through the kingdom, with power to impose the Test, to inquire into conventicles, and absenting from Church; and to fine, confine,

banish, and hang, as they should see cause. In December, 1684, a commission was granted to the Earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Munro of Coulrain, for the bounds between Spey and Ness; and, on 19th January, 1685, their power was extended to Inverness, Ross, Cromarty, and Sutherland; and Lord Duffus, with a troop of militia, was ordered to attend them. A letter was likewise written by the council to the Bishop of Moray, requiring him to cause all the clergy to attend the justices on January 22nd, with their elders, and to bring lists of all persons either guilty or suspected.

Such a parade and meeting of Justices, Bishops, Ministers, Elders, Militia, Gentlemen, Ladies, and common people, was held at Elgin, 22nd January, and the subsequent days; and as it was unusual, could not but strike terror. And the more sensible people must have concluded, that a government, either in Church or State, must have been odious, that needed such support. These Justices made their report to the council on 2nd March, as follows:—

“ We made up lists of the heritors, wadsetters, and liferenters, who offered three months supply, signed a bond of peace, and took the Test, except a few. We fined some, banished others, and remitted some to the council. We ordered to imprison Munro of Fowles at Tain, and his son at Inverness, and sent Mr. William MacKay (N.

he was afterwards minister at Cromdale) a vagrant preacher in Sutherland to Edinburgh. We banished Messrs. James Urquhart, John Stuart (N. thereafter at Urquhart), Alexander Dunbar (N. thereafter at Aldern), and George Meldrum, ministers, Alexander and Mark Mavors in Urquhart, Donald and Andrew Munros in Elgin, Alexander Munro of Maine, and Jean Taylor. We fined the Laird of Grant in £42,500; the Laird of Brodie in £24,000; Alexander Brodie of Lethen in £40,000; Francis Brodie of Milnton in £10,000; Francis Brodie of Windyhills in £3,333 6s. 8d.; Mr. James Brodie (grandfather to the present Lethen) of Kinlie in £333 6s. 8d.; Mr. George Meldrum of Crombie in £6,666 13s. 4d.; Thomas Dunbar of Grange, the Laird of Innes, William Brodie of Coltfield, William Brodie of Whitewrae, and Mr. Robert Donaldson in Arr, were cited to appear when called."

Besides these, there were imprisoned at Elgin, John Montsod, Chamberlain to Park; Jean Brodie, relict of Alexander Thomson, merchant in Elgin; Christine Lesly, daughter, and Beatrix Brodie, relict of Lesly of Aikenway. Although the Justices who met at Elgin were not severe, and Sir John Munro was a friend to the oppressed, yet it is probable that to please the Court and Bishops, some executions would have been made, if the King's death had not prevented it. For how soon the Justices arrived at Elgin, they

ordered a new gallows to be erected. But the King having died on 6th February, 1685, the account of it reached Elgin on the 13th. The Justices left the town next day; the prisoners were released; and many who were under citation were eased of the trouble of appearing because the Commission of the Justices was vacated and became null.

The gentlemen that were fined were brought to much trouble. Non-conformity, absence from Church, and attending conventicles were their only crimes; and not so much the conduct of the gentlemen as of their ladies. They thought it hard to be punished for their wives' faults. The Laird of Brodie had a Non-conforming chaplain, and some conventicles in Brodie House; and though he went to London to get some composition, yet he was forced to pay 20,000 merks Scots to Colonel Maxwell, a Papist. Lethen's fine was gifted to the Scots College of Doway, to be paid to Mr. Lewis Innes, a member of that College. The estate of Lethen was adjudged in order to secure payment, and upon Lethen's death, the Laird of Grant (married to Lethen's only child) becoming executor to him, paid £30,000 to the Earl of Perth. The Laird of Grant petitioned the Privy Council, showed his own loyalty, and his lady's inability to travel to Church through want of health. Yet the Council ordered him to be prosecuted for the

fine ; but he spun out his defences till the Revolution delivered him. Milnton's fine was granted to Gray of Crichie, as a reward of his deciphering some of Argyle's letters ; but the Revolution prevented paying it.

Besides the severity used by this Court of Justiciary, the Sheriff Courts put many to distress and trouble. The Hereditary Sheriff of Moray, refusing the test, was divested of his office, and Lord Down was made Sheriff Principal, and Tulloch of Tanachie, Depute, who fined David Brodie of Pitgavenie, brother to Lethen, in £18,000, whereof a great part was paid. The Sheriff of Inverness fined many in that county ; and Mackenzie of Suddie, by a special warrant from the Council, prosecuted many in Ross and Cromarty. These prosecutions were carried on in all counties, and they who have calculated the fines imposed, and for the most part exacted, make them amount to £4000,000.

As in the body natural, so in the political and ecclesiastic, too hot a regimen of medicines doth but inflame the disease which it is intended to cure. The severities used at that time, mainly for Non-conformity, increased the number of Non-conformists, although they durst not avow it, and brought the Administration, both of Church and State; into the greater contempt. Upon the accession of King James VII. to the Crown in 1685, he would willingly have compounded mat-

ters for a season, and grant a respite for Non-conformists, that he might with the better grace favour the Roman Catholics. To this it was owing that, failing to get the penal statutes against Popery repealed, he granted an ample toleration, and the Non-conformists had rest. But the Scottish Bishops, being infatuated, although they knew of the Prince of Orange's intended expedition, to preserve the religion and liberties of Britain, yet in their address, gave their King such a taste of their loyalty, and the nation such a specimen of their religion and temper, that it was no wonder that next year the Convention of Estates declared Prelacy a grievance to the nation.

The last sufferer I know in Moray for Non-conformity was Mr. Angus MacBean, son to MacBean of Kinchyle, and Minister of Inverness. He was a man of parts and piety, and was admitted Minister of Inverness December 29th, 1683. It was with great reluctance that he entered into the ministry under the then Establishment; for his dissatisfaction with the Government, and the tyrannical conduct of the Church, made him, in June, 1687, withdraw from their judicatories, and on 23rd October, being the Lord's Day, he preached from Job xxxiv. 31, 32, publicly renounced Prelacy, and demitted his charge. In January, 1688, he was carried a prisoner to Edinburgh, examined before

the Council, and, on 27th February, was deposed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews. He was remanded to prison, and though, on account of the languishing state of his health, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun and Duncan Forbes of Culloden offered a bail of 10,000 merks Scots, to present him when called, yet the Chancellor would not liberate him. He lay in prison till, upon the Chancellor's running away in December, 1688, the mob opened the prison doors. After this he continued in a languishing way, and died at Edinburgh in February, 1689, in the 33rd year of his age.

The happy Revolution, in 1688, put an end to tyranny and persecution. I have given some account of the state of Religion in this Province at and since the Revolution, and shall now only observe.

That the Episcopal clergy, being by law indulged, upon their qualifying to the Civil Government, to keep their charges and livings, they saw this so much for their ease and worldly advantage, that they all, very few excepted, complied with it. Thereby they are eased of the trouble and expense of attending upon Presbyteries, Synods, Assemblies, and Commissions, and of bearing a share in frequent contributions of money for promoting religion and piety. No one was disturbed or ejected, except those who refused to acknowledge King William and Queen

Mary, and who still looked for the restoration of their abdicated King. I own that in Strathspey the Laird of Grant did take advantage of the Ministers of Cromdale, Abernethie, and Duthel, who neglected to qualify to Government within the time limited. And upon this he, in a manner too summary, caused shut up their Churches. In the town of Elgin, so disaffected were the magistrates, and influenced by the Lord Duffus, that for eight years they kept the pastoral charge vacant. And in Inverness, so great was the disaffection (to which Mr. Hector MacKenzie, Minister, contributed not a little, although he himself had qualified to the Civil Government), that upon the death of Mr. Marshall, in 1691, the magistrates would not suffer the charge to be declared vacant. Upon 21st June that year, all avenues to the Church were beset with armed men, and double sentries placed at the doors that no Minister might enter; and when Duncan Forbes of Culloden fought to open the doors, he was thrust back and struck violently. This made Culloden and others represent the case to the Council; and in August, 1691, Leven's regiment was sent North to protect the well-affected in obeying the law. They made patent doors; but for ten years no Minister could be got settled in that town. (*Min. Presb. of Moray.*)

In remains now that I give some account of the state of Popery in this Province. The favour

showed by our Kings to Roman Catholics, ever since the Reformation, is well known. King James VI. did not dissemble that he would meet them half way. His son, though called a zealous Protestant, protected, employed, and encouraged Papists during his unfortunate reign. King Charles II. was known to be, and died, a Roman Catholic ; and his brother openly professed that religion. Notwithstanding the influence and example of those princes, very few in this Province, except the dependents on the family of Gordon, and the MacDonalds and Chisholms, have been seduced into Popish errors. Among the Highland clans, the Frasers, MacIntosches, Grants, MacPhersons, MacGilliwrys, scarce any Papists are to be found. Even in the country of Badenoch, though all are vassals or tenants of the Duke of Gordon, there are few, if any, of that religion. This has been owing, in a great measure, to the gentry and chiefs of clans, who early embraced the Reformation, and both encouraged and promoted it in their lands.

The MacDonalds of Glengary never that I know were Reformed. The gentlemen of that name have their sons educated in the Scots Colleges abroad, especially at Doway ; and they return home either avowed or concealed Papists. In the year 1726, in all Glengary and Achadrom, which may consist of 800 souls, I could find very few Protestants. Since that time they have not

become much better, but have diffused their errors into the neighbouring countries of Abertarf, Glenmoriston, and Strathglass.

The most noble family of Gordon, till of late, were Roman Catholics ; and although now they are Protestants, yet Popery still prevails in their lands, within this Province, particularly in Glenrinnes, Glenlivat, and Strathavon. I remember when a seminary or academy of Priests was openly kept in Glenlivat, where the languages, philosophy, and Divinity were regularly taught ; and a draught of the most promising boys was sent to France, who returned home Priests and Jesuits. I am not certain if such a seminary is now kept up there, but a Popish Meeting-House continues, and at High Mass 600 people or more convene to it. To conclude this account, in Glenrinnis, Glenlivat, and Strathavon, in Abertarf, Glengary, and Achadrom, and in Strathglass, there are, in my opinion, at least 3000 Roman Catholics.

It may not be improper here to observe the happy increase in Christian knowledge since the Revolution, by means of the early education of youth. All the parishes in this Province, excepting three or four, have now schools erected in them, according to law ; and some society schools are settled where Popery prevails, or the extent of parishes requires. This valuable Society had its rise from the piety and benevolence of some private Christians in Edinburgh, about the year 1700, who pitying the lamentable condi-

tion of the Highlands and Islands, through ignorance, idolatry, superstition, and profaneness, did themselves cheerfully contribute, and prevailed with others to concur with them, for erecting schools. Their first school was in the country of Stratherick, within this Province ; but not meeting with the success expected, they applied to the General Assembly, who laid the design before her Majesty Queen Anne, and obtained letters patent, of date 25th May, 1709, erecting the contributors into a Society, by the name of "The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." The stock of the Society, in the year 1774, is for Scotland £28,901 sterling, and for America £4032 sterling. They have now established 121 schools (besides some lately suppressed), at which above 6000 boys and girls are educated ; and they have missionaries in Georgia, North Carolina, and other parts in America. The happy effects of this truly pious institution are visible in this Province. Christian knowledge is increased, heathenish customs are abandoned, the number of Papists is diminished, disaffection to the Government is lessened, and the English language is so diffused that in the remotest glens it is spoken by the young people ; and in the low country, in Inveravon, Glenliyat, Knockando, Edinkylie, Nairn, and Ardersier, where, till of late, public worship was performed in Irish, there is now no occasion for Ministers having that language.

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